

IN THESE TIMES

Report
from Warsaw
Page 11



VOL. 6, NO. 28

JUNE 16-29, 1982

\$1.00

ELECTIONS '82

The left looks for openings

Citizens Party
convention
Page 6

Chicago blacks
buck the "machine"
Page 2

California primaries
Page 7

Canvassing communities
Page 12

THE INSIDE STORY



Politics, argues independent alderman Danny Davis, is more than patronage.

Chicago blacks test independence

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

When Allan Streeter went to vote in the special aldermanic election in his ward here on June 1, a particularly eager campaign worker followed him into the polling place, aggressively urging him to vote for Jewel Frierson, the candidate of the regular Democratic organization. Such illegal, high-pressure electioneering is not unusual in poor, black wards like the Englewood neighborhood. But this story had an unusual twist: Allan Streeter was the incumbent alderman, a man appointed by the "machine" who broke with the organization and now faced its wrath. He had come to vote for himself.

So Chicago politics never changes. Or does it?

A month earlier, at the urging of Mayor Jane Byrne, the City Council unanimously approved a resolution calling for a freeze on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons. Such remote issues, as opposed to land deals, city contracts and appointment plums, have rarely troubled Chicago politicians. "Disarmament is a long way from State and Madison [Streets]," one local political advisor said, noting that before TV the average alderman simply ran his ward and was unknown to most constituents, who didn't care "what his position was on the Versailles treaty."

The new Cook County Democratic party chairman, alderman Edward Vrdolyak, who ousted county board president George Dunne from the post this spring, has declared that the party will henceforth be issue-oriented. But Vrdolyak is also a quintessential machine politician of the old type, denounced by Byrne in her mayoral campaign as part of an "evil cabal" running the city, but now part of the mayor's own occasionally sleazy combine of wheeler-dealers. In recent weeks both Vrdolyak and Byrne have been publicly attacked for arranging fat city contracts for political cronies.

The Streeter campaign is a clue to the change—and lack of it—in Chicago politics, which is heating up beyond even its usual steamy level in anticipation of races early next year for mayor and other local offices. For Byrne to have a shred of a chance to win re-election after a controversial term she must reknit the old machine and find ways to bring in the large chunks that

have fallen away in recent years. One of the most serious threats comes from rising black electoral independence, especially since many of the black wards have long been counted as automatic, controlled votes, permitting the machine to focus attention on white wards.

Unlike Dunne, veteran independent political strategist Don Rose argues, Vrdolyak knows how "to cut people in," giving the old-timers and business interests a piece of the action and a sense of importance but also tipping his hat to liberals, suburbanites and other Democrats alienated from the local machine by taking up a few harmless issues.

But the independent voting pattern may be too strong in many areas for even the refurbished machine strategy to work. Blacks, in particular, are demanding not only that blacks represent majority black districts but also that the officials should be accountable first to the community, not the party.

Streeter had been a loyal patronage worker when Byrne appointed him to fill a vacancy in the city council last year. Although he says he was opposed to her controversial appointment of two white women to the school board, he voted for them on the education committee, hoping that in exchange he might get blacks a few jobs—a classic Chicago expectation. "But the people didn't want that," he said on election day as he contemplated the storm around him from his spartan headquarters. "They wanted someone to stand up for them."

A group called Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC—referred to as "see-buck"), organized two years ago by popular radio commentator Lu Palmer, attacked Streeter for not representing black interests. By the time the vote got to the City Council, Streeter turned around and was organizing other blacks against the nominees. That was the end to his organization ties.

Originally a coalition of other local black groups, CBUC became a membership organization training a couple hundred neophyte, often middle-class blacks in the nitty-gritty of electoral politics. Ironically, Palmer for years had denigrated voting as useless for blacks. Then in 1977 Harold Washington, now a member of Congress and the leading independent black political figure in the city, ran for mayor. "I worked like a dog for Harold," Palmer recalls, "and then election day came and I wasn't registered." He became a convert.

"Our political goals are to bring a measure of political power to black people," Palmer says. "Another major goal is to become an accountability vehicle for black elected officials." All three CBUC-supported candidates lost in the March primaries, but its work on behalf of Streeter may have helped him win an unexpectedly high 45.8 percent of the vote against the machine candidate's 41.2 percent, with a surprising 39 percent voter turnout in what had always been considered an apathetic, controlled ward.

But the race also revealed some of the pitfalls in the CBUC strategy. As aldermen from numerous other wards poured in to help Frierson, who was reportedly benefitting directly and indirectly from as much as \$60,000 in funds from Byrne, CBUC found itself opposing the efforts of State Rep. Raymond Ewell on behalf of Frierson. Ewell had been their candidate in March against a good liberal white woman, whom CBUC opposed because the district was largely black.

Even Streeter, who claims to be fulfilling a "divine mission," may turn out to disappoint his supporters. Although he says he would like to see a black mayor, he was happy to receive help in his primary from State's Attorney Richard M. Daley—the Boss's son

and the man at this point most likely to be Chicago's next mayor.

CBUC, as well as many other independent black politicians, have their hopes up primarily for winning more City Council seats next year. But they are certain that a black will run for mayor. Increasingly they also think a black just might win if the white votes are split by several candidates, if there is a massive registration drive (about 60 percent of the roughly 900,000 eligible blacks are registered), if blacks break their allegiances to the machine, to the old Daley legacy and to any liberal white in the race to vote overwhelmingly for the black, if there's money, if...

Washington is everyone's first choice, and he says he's considering the race. Although he also says he likes Congress, he easily begins talking about how a black mayor could stand for "open city government; neighborhood preservation; fairness—run clearly against the excesses of patronage; utilizing talent in appointments; cutting out waste; improving the infrastructure; getting a better balance between the neighborhoods and downtown."

"What's happening now is a movement," Washington said. "People misread it. They said 'black apathy.' Now with the continuum of development [of a decade in independent black voting], a lot of people realize something is possible."

But white independents are skeptical that the something is electing a black mayor, even if they admire potential candidates. "I don't see how it could occur," Rose said. "The numbers just aren't there." Blacks make up 40 percent of the city and 35 percent of the registered voters. Latinos have not only been cool to alliances with blacks but are also unlikely to vote and even then are the group most dominated by the machine. At best a very small percentage of whites would vote for a black mayor. Only a "theoretical synergism" that would deprive Byrne of any machine-controlled black votes and turn out many thousands of new voters would have a slim chance, Rose argues.

Rose thinks that independent black political organizations, although growing, are still "crippling along" without enough strong organizers or a clear direction. Martin Oberman, dean of the white independents in the City Council, sees an increase in black independence in voting, but thinks the victories are localized and do not reflect a real movement with mass support and coherent aims.

The Streeter vote meant, according to Washington aide Sam Patch, that the machine can no longer "count on the black wards." If Streeter had lost, he said, it would have been a message to Daley, "don't come in or we'll crush you." That accounts for the massive presence of attorneys Daley sent in to watch for vote fraud. But the ultimate beneficiaries of a more politically open black community will be the people living there.

"People are beginning to understand," black independent alderman Danny Davis said, "that politics in the black community has to be more than how many favors can you do for individuals—but rather how public decisions affect the populace. We're going to see a different kind of politics and leader."

In short, farewell

Josh Kornbluth, *In These Times'* assistant managing editor for the past two years and in house master of the quick quip, has taken a job as copy editor at the *Boston Phoenix*, leaving us without a snappy comeback.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Mid-America Publishing Co., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444.

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors

John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

Culture Editor
Pat Aufderheide

European Editor
Diana Johnstone

Staff: Emily Young, Editorial Assistant;
Nina Berman, Intern.

Correspondents: Kate Ellis (New York),
David Fleishman (Tokyo), Robert Howard
(Boston), Timothy Lange (Denver), David
Mandel (Jerusalem), James North
(Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 1419
Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612,
(415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

ART

Co-Directors
Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors
Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition
Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weissstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1982 by Mid-America Publishing Co., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* or single-article reprints are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher
Bob Nicklas

Business Manager
Elizabeth Goldstein

Circulation Director Advertising Director
Pat VanderMeer Bill Rehm

Outreach Coordinator
Angie Fa

Staff: Arlene Folsom, Anne Flanagan,
Assistant Circulation Directors; Beth
Maschinot, Circulation Assistant; Anne
Ireland, Bookkeeper; Debbie Zucker,
Office Manager; Grace Faustino, Caging
Manager; Paul Ginger, Classified
Advertising.

"No" to givebacks in Canada

By Collin Gribbons

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

THE MAINSTREAM OF CANADIAN labor served notice in late May that it will not follow the concession line taken by unions in the U.S. About 2,500 delegates to the biennial convention of the two million-member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) said they would rather see plants close than give up wages and benefits. And they said that, if necessary, they would call a general strike to stop wage controls.

The five-day convention in late May was held less than two months after nine of the 12 international construction unions recently suspended by the CLC set up a new central labor body (see story below). But the economic crisis overshadowed the split. The absence of the building trades helps explain, in part, why this year's convention moved considerably to the left of past gatherings.

Without the building trades, the CLC's membership is almost evenly split between public and private sector unions. The older industrial unions are developing a resurgent militancy in the face of concession demands. Public employees have been radicalized by bitter strikes and government determination to hold wage increases well below the rate of inflation.

The CLC adopted policies to satisfy the rising militancy of both groups while leaving some room for tactical flexibility. A strongly worded statement on concessions had the support—"etched in blood," according to CLC president Dennis McDermott—of all the affiliates for private sector unions. A series of emergency resolutions on the public sector, supported by the industrial unions, demanded free collective bargaining, no selective wage restraint and the resignation of a government minister who said public employees were overpaid. The two policy thrusts were tied together by the general strike resolution, which mandated the CLC executive council "to mobilize maximum opposition" to wage controls "up to and including, after consultation with affiliated unions and pro-

vincial federations, a general strike."

The concessions statement, adopted almost unanimously, says givebacks "are part of an overall government-corporate strategy to increase corporate profits and a conscious policy to destroy the labor movement." It warns that buckling under means "in one fell swoop workers and their trade unions will be hurled back to the '30s." The document also says that concessions do nothing to increase productivity. And, as Canadian Autoworkers director Bob White points out, concessions will not sell one more North American car. In fact, says the document, they reduce demand and deepen the recession.

"How does an organizer for a concessions union, for example, outline the advantages of belonging to that union?"

asked McDermott in an hour-long keynote address to the convention.

"Unions that fail to advance, unions that are compelled to walk backwards, at best will lose credibility with working people, at worst they will be destroyed," said the former UAW international vice-president. "I have spent 35 years of my life in this movement to advance the cause of working people. I want no part of a union that's going to walk backwards."

The no-concessions stance was put to the test even before the convention started. In Ontario, UAW members were on strike in six locations against company demands for wage and benefit rollbacks that approached 50 percent in one case. In British Columbia, nearly half of the members of the International Wood-

workers of America have been laid off, and both the IWA and the Canadian Paperworkers Union are resisting employer demands to suspend previously negotiated wage increases.

The week after the convention ended, over 10,000 steelworkers hit the bricks in Sudbury, Ontario, against the giant International Nickel Co., which proposed a three-year contract with no real wage gains.

The biggest tests will come this fall, in the auto industry and in Quebec, where the financially strapped government has moved to take back previously negotiated increases through special legislation. Negotiations begin in July to replace existing contracts at GM, Ford and Chrysler in Canada, where more than 45,000 UAW members have so far maintained they will continue to accept no concessions. Their local union officers unanimously backed the bargaining position at a recent Toronto conference. The contracts expire September 14, and it is un-

Continued on page 10

Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau addressed the Canadian Federation of Labour convention as newly elected CFL president James McCambly (left) and IBEW Canadian head Ken Rose listened.



Conservative trades break away from the Labour Congress

OTTAWA, CANADA—Canada has a new labor alliance, but about the only people celebrating the founding of the Canadian Federation of Labour (CFL) are its top officers, who were all acclaimed to their posts at the CFL's first convention here in late March.

The formation of the CFL, composed of the Canadian sections of 10 international construction trades unions that broke away from the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), leaves a serious rift in the labor movement here. This split will harm the union movement's commitment to the socialist-oriented New Democratic Party (NDP) since the CFL, which in theory supports no particular party, leans toward the ruling Liberals in its economic and political action policies.

The unions affiliated to the CFL have a total membership of 200,000, compared to the CLC's two million. And three construction trade unions now outside the CLC and the CFL have an extra 100,000 members. The reasons for the schism are many. But the root cause is probably the more conservative outlook of the building trades leadership,

which does not believe in the political action espoused by the CLC and bridges at the method of representation at CLC conventions, where every affiliated local union is entitled to send at least one delegate. The construction unions say this gives public sector unions a disproportionate strength in determining CLC policy.

Many locals continue to pay per capita dues directly to the CLC, although the checks are not being cashed. Some of the international unions are still instructing their locals to continue paying per capita dues to CLC-chartered local labor councils and provincial labor federations, although these bodies have been ordered by the CLC to suspend construction locals from membership.

"This continuing division of the house of labor in Canada must be reversed," said Bill Zander, president of the British Columbia Provincial Council of the Carpenters union in a recent column in the union's newspaper. Although the Carpenters are not yet CFL members, it has been rumored that they will affiliate soon. Two other unions, the Labourers and Iron Workers, have

also not affiliated.

In the past, the CLC has attempted to set up its own provincial building trades council to allow locals to affiliate directly to the CLC. The tactic met with little success until late April, when an Ontario council was chartered by the CLC, with about 10 locals of the Carpenters, Iron Workers and Labourers affiliating from across the province.

It remains to be seen whether the headquarters of the unions involved will take any action against the locals. But if the Ontario council is successful, the idea may spread to British Columbia, where pro-CLC sentiment is strong. A CLC-chartered council already exists in Quebec.

The building trades unions also have industrial components, however. In some cases, up to one half of their members belong to small locals in larger industrial establishments or in non-traditional building trades areas such as communications and public utilities. In both sectors, inter-union rivalry is beginning to show. The smaller locals fear they will gradually be swallowed by the bigger industrial units.

In the non-traditional sectors that the building trades unions represent, battle lines are being drawn. The Communications Workers of Canada (CWC), a young, aggressive CLC affiliate formed out of the old Canadian section of the Communications Workers of America, has already swallowed up a unit of telephone operators in Manitoba formerly represented by the IBEW. The CWC is confident it will also win a campaign

now underway to represent technicians for the provincial telephone utility.

The Canadian Paperworkers Union, another CLC affiliate that is currently merging with the Energy and Chemical Workers Union, is raiding the IBEW in New Brunswick, where the latter union represents hydroelectric commission employees and in Northern Ontario, the CPU is after a large Carpenters local. The Autoworkers have also taken a unit from the IBEW at an auto parts plant in Ontario. Many more similar actions are expected, according to knowledgeable observers.

Ironically, despite its political partisanship, the CLC can probably muster more political clout than the CFL in provincial capitals, where CLC federations of labor can also lobby governments to change laws relating to construction employment and union representation. A downgrading of union travel permits—which, for example, allow an unemployed construction worker in Ontario to find a job in booming Alberta—could spell the end of the building trades unions, according to some local unionists.

At this time, the two sides' differences seem irreconcilable. In his acceptance speech, McCambly said he took "very seriously the deliberations of the convention to maintain liaison and cooperation with the balance of the labor movement. Our hand of fraternal relationship and cooperation is always extended." Many people here are not as optimistic.

—C.G.

INSHORT

Nuns shed anti-abortion habit

To the dismay of the Roman Catholic Church and its conservative congressional allies, the leadership of the 1,800-member National Coalition of American Nuns recently announced its opposition to Sen. Orrin Hatch's (R-Utah) proposed constitutional amendment limiting abortion. "While we continue to oppose abortion in principal and in practice, we are likewise convinced that the responsibility for decisions in this regard resides primarily with those who are directly and personally involved," the nuns said. This is believed to be the first time Catholics institutionally tied to the church not only have challenged the bishops' rejection of the 1973 Supreme Court decision, but also have come out in favor of a pro-choice stance.

According to the May 28 *New York Times*, the announcement was made in an April statement but only now is gaining circulation among church members and groups. The statement also addresses the contradiction posed by those who advocate "right-to-life" for the unborn but no rights for the living. "It is paradoxical to us that the same leaders who are currently demanding that women bring their babies to term are simultaneously voting to cut off food stamps, child nutrition programs and related benefits essential for the health and well-being of our children."

Cincy insists on right to know

In a major victory for workers in Cincinnati, Ohio, a model "right to know" ordinance was passed by the City Council June 3, reports Kathy Parrent. Now some 378 potentially harmful substances taken from the OSHA "subpart Z" list must either be labeled with the chemical name and the risks of exposure or listed on a data sheet in the immediate workplace. Penalties for non-compliance include a \$500 fine per violation plus possible plant shutdown until the companies abide by the law. Nor can employers use "trade secrets" grounds to evade ordinance provisions. Backers of the ordinance say this safety measure is a significant step for residents of Cincinnati, where the cancer death rate is among the highest in the nation.

But a setback at the federal level: OSHA recently suspended listings of suspected carcinogens pending policy review this fall. It also wants to implement a chemical labeling standard that not only excludes unknown hazards but also leaves the selection of the chemicals to be labeled as hazardous up to the discretion of the manufacturers.

Pestering pays off

Workers in Texas scored a victory similar to Cincinnati's when a U.S. Federal Court judge ruled last month that the public is entitled to health and safety data on toxic pesticides and ordered the EPA to turn over information pertaining to the case of three farmworkers who had to be hospitalized recently after working in fields treated with a toxic substance called Carbofuran. This case is one of four so far this year that has successfully used a 1978 amendment to the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA) to force disclosure of safety data on pesticides. For years the pesticide industry has claimed studies that test the potential of pesticides to cause cancer, birth defects and genetic mutations are "trade secrets" that should not be publicly released. Since neither the 1978 Congress nor the courts bought that argument, the industry is now pushing to restrict non-trade secret health and safety studies. By reducing the role of the EPA in evaluating chemical companies' claims about the safety of toxic pesticides, the Reagan administration has forced the public to play watchdog.

A penny saved...

A General Accounting Office (GAO) report concerned with the effects of federal hiring freezes and employee cut-backs recently concluded that the "publicity surrounding the hiring freezes has helped to create an impression that they substantially reduce the size and cost of government" when in reality the bureaucratic trimming has cost more money than it saves. Wading through the voluminous report, columnist Jane Bryant Quinn highlighted a choice example:

• As a result of staff cuts imposed by the Reagan freeze and by the third Carter freeze, the Internal Revenue Service failed to identify \$238 million in taxes due to the government. So the \$11 million saved by decreasing the number of revenue agents and tax auditors turned into a \$227 million boondoggle.

In general, the GAO found that the hiring freezes have limited the government's ability to collect loans in default and to identify waste and fraud. To compound the expense, many agencies hit by staff cuts have simply stepped-up their use of overtime, increased part-time help or hired outside assistants. The GAO even took a stab at David Stockman's Office of Management and Budget for not having determined whether the money-saving programs he advocated had done just that.

—Nina Berman



On March 27 four North Carolina students armed with a banner that read "Stop U.S. trained Salvadoran death squads," blocked the main entrance to Ft. Bragg, a training camp for 900 Salvadoran troops, and refused to leave until the troops were removed. The four were arrested and charged with impeding traffic (above). Three of the students maintained their innocence and were brought to trial May 25, found guilty, sentenced to 90 days each in jail, charged with numerous court costs and slapped with a \$2,500 appeal bond. The fourth admitted his guilt and received a suspended sentence. The three jailed students may be the first Americans imprisoned for protesting U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

Can fasting and changes in rules rescue the ERA?

CHICAGO—Pressures mounted last week in the state capitols of Illinois, Florida, Oklahoma and North Carolina as the proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment sought three more ratifications before the June 30 deadline.

Organizers claimed 15,000 showed up in Springfield, Ill., on June 6 to tell Gov. James Thompson and his legislative leaders to change the rules that require a two-thirds vote of approval. A rules change should assure passage. Earlier this month, recognizing the deadline and the pressures from national union leaders who saw their potential embarrassment, the state AFL-CIO reversed its longstanding position and came out for majority rule (*In These Times*, April 21).

State AFL-CIO president Robert Gibson joined other dignitaries testifying on behalf of the bill, while seven women, including Mormon ERA supporter Sonia Johnson continued their fast on behalf of the amendment. Another group of women, who had chained themselves to the Capitol building, were finally removed by police but kept up their protest. The focus of the protest is Thompson, one of whose closest supporters switched from favoring the rules change at the last minute before a potential vote, using the fasting women as an excuse.

In North Carolina, ERA was set back by a Senate vote to table the measure, but supporters claimed that the battle was not over. A favorable vote in the House could reopen the drive. Despite that vote, a Louis Harris survey in May showed 61

percent to 32 percent public support in North Carolina, up from 49 to 41 percent approval in 1979. ERA has majority support from every polling category there, even among conservatives, Republicans and Reagan voters.

Harris found a "dramatic turnaround" in support for the ERA throughout the South. In January ERA was opposed in the South by a 52 to 45 percent margin; by late April the South favored ERA by 55 to 41 percent. That may make an impression on Florida state senators, who recently discovered that they will all be running in new districts, with some anti-ERA legislators now in pro-ERA areas.

Nationwide the Harris poll shows a 63 to 34 percent margin of approval, up 13 points since January. (If people are simply asked if they support ERA and have the amendment read to them, 73 percent favor it with

only 22 percent opposed.) In the Midwest, where opinion trends are surely of interest to Illinois and possibly Oklahoma legislators, approval rose from 48 to 47 percent in January to a margin of 60 to 36 percent in late April.

—David Moberg

In the midst of plenty

ALLENTOWN, PA—Picture the entire state of Delaware covered with 1.3 inches of topsoil, or better yet, Manhattan buried under 10 feet of dirt. That is what could be done with the 280 million tons of topsoil that erodes each year from the agricultural land in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. Despite severe soil erosion, 18 million acres of prime farmland remain in the region, enough to produce most of the food consumed by the 41.5 million population in those five states.

But according to The Cornucopia Project, a research group that studies the U.S. food system, that isn't happening. Instead, consumers are spending

Illinois ERA supporters chained themselves to the state Senate building.



Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

Briefing: Election roundup

Ronald Reagan's conservative political philosophy was rejected by Republicans and Democrats alike in the June 8 primaries. In New Jersey, moderate Rep. Millicent Fenwick bested former Reagan aide Jeffrey Bell in the Republican Senate primary. In California, Lt. Gov. Mike Curb, backed by Reagan's "kitchen cabinet," lost out to Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian in the Republican gubernatorial primary. In

grams, while suggesting that she was more concerned with jobs than her challenger. She also stressed her support for a nuclear arms freeze and her opposition to the B-1 bomber and MX missile.

While her victory was largely the result of her personal popularity—she has been immortalized as *Doonesbury's* Lacey Davenport—it also showed the limitations, even within the Republican party,

In the Ohio Democratic gubernatorial primary, former Peace Corps director Richard Celeste bested Atty. Gen. William Brown and Cincinnati City Councilman Jerry Springer. Brown had tried to distinguish himself from the more liberal Celeste and Springer by trumpeting his support for the death penalty and his opposition to abortion. In the final Sunday before the election, right-to-life groups passed out 500,000 leaflets on Brown's behalf. But together, Celeste and Springer got 62 percent of the vote (43 percent for Celeste) to Brown's 38 percent.

In Montana, incumbent Democratic Sen. John Melcher crushed challenger Mike Bond in Tuesday's primary and in November will face Republican Larry Williams, who also won by a landslide. Melcher, seeking his second term, received 68 percent of the vote with 99 percent of the ballots counted. Bond, a real-estate investor who had attacked Melcher for voting for Reagan's 1981 budget, received 27 percent. Bond mounted an unrelenting attack on Melcher's Senate record, charging specifically that the Montana senator had voted for the MX missile up until last year when the issue became unpopular. Bond's platform demanded that all nuclear missiles in the state be removed.

Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party endorsed Paul Wellstone for State Auditor at its June 4-6 convention in Duluth. Wellstone, a Carleton College political science professor and author of *Powerline*, is running a self-styled populist campaign, focused on the auditor's role in determining state investments. With the slogan of "invest Minnesota's money in Minnesota," Wellstone has pledged to use state monies for economic and alternative energy development and to place state employees on the board that determines the disposition of their pension funds. Running against incumbent Arne Carlson, Wellstone is hoping to ride the expected tide of anti-Reagan sentiment in November.

Other interesting races: In Iowa, feminist Roxanne Conlin defeated her two opponents in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. If she can defeat Lt. Gov. Terry Branstad in November, she will become the first woman elected to high office in Iowa. In the Ohio race for Secretary of State, former Cleveland mayor Dennis Kucinich was narrowly defeated by a liberal, Sherrod Brown. In New Jersey, Democratic senatorial contender Andrew Maguire, who ran with the backing of left unions and women's and environmental organizations, was edged out by millionaire businessman Frank Lautenberg.

—John Judis



Former Cleveland mayor Dennis Kucinich lost his bid for the Democratic nomination for Secretary of State.

Cleveland's suburbs, Democratic Rep. Ron Mottl, who backed Reagan's tax and budget proposals, was narrowly defeated by liberal County Commissioner Edward Feighan in the 19th district Democratic congressional primary.

Bell had upset liberal Republican incumbent Clifford Case in the 1978 Republican primary, only to lose to Bill Bradley in the finale. A close associate of Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) and economic consultant Jude Wanniski (*The Way the World Works*), Bell has been a spokesman for supply-side economics. In his campaign against the 72-year-old Fenwick, he equally emphasized social issues—his support for the death penalty and school prayer and his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights. Fenwick eschewed criticisms of Reagan's tax pro-

of a new right emphasis on social issues.

The Ohio Democratic races were equally revealing about the direction of the Democratic party. Feighan, with the backing of Cleveland labor unions and local party head Tim Hagan, tried to turn the election into a referendum on Reaganomics. Northern "Boll Weevil" Mottl, who is best known for his opposition to busing and abortion, fought back by charging that Feighan's victory would open the way for busing in white, blue-collar Cleveland suburbs. Ironically, Mottl was endorsed by House Speaker "Tip" O'Neill and received \$5,000 from the Democratic Congressional Committee (DCC) for his campaign; DCC head Rep. Tony Coelho claimed that Mottl had had to "vote his district."

\$670 million annually for food imported from outside the mid-Atlantic region. While each of these states rank high in certain agricultural commodities like dairy, apples and broilers because of the lack of crop diversification, 76 percent of their foodstuff is transported from California, Florida, Mexico and even further locations.

Local organizers, land stewards, policymakers and homesteaders from the five-state region gathered here Memorial Day weekend for a three-day symposium on the troubled agricultural industry. Robert Rodale, founder of The Cornucopia Project, emphasized the "need to begin regenerating, involving more people in the local production of food. Building a sustainable agricultural system isn't good enough anymore."

State policymakers attending the symposium shied away from the hard issues of soil erosion, organic farming, acid rain or how to transform the eating habits of state residents to favor locally produced food, instead touting economic development as the solution to the region's agricultural problems. According to J. Roger Barber, New York state commissioner of agriculture, the revitalization of the food processing industry will alleviate the state's dependence on the floundering dairy economy by encouraging New York farmers to diversify crop production.

Yet there is no guarantee that state farmers would benefit from such diversification since most food processors represent national companies that have no special allegiance to New York producers. If the price is right and the product sized to perfection, food processors will have no qualms about importing their tomatoes from thousands of miles away.

By the final session, regional organizers succeeded in laying the groundwork for local Cornucopia Projects. Hedging of hard issues coupled with inadequate solutions proposed by policymakers apparently convinced many participants that local citizens must initiate their own programs to change the food system. Representatives from the upstate New York region reported that they would be fighting high food costs by growing their own and by finding edible wild plants. The Philadelphia Cornucopia group plans to publish a networking document to link local farmers with city markets.

—Susan Kellam

Pro-nuclear friendships

WASHINGTON—If South Africa doesn't have the bomb yet, President Reagan is doing all he can to help it get it. The recent export of Helium 3, an element that when transformed into tritium can help produce a nuclear bomb, followed such moves this past year as the training of 22 South Africans at U.S. nuclear facilities and approval to ship a Control Data computer that can be used for nuclear weapons development.

When Commerce Secretary

Malcolm Bladridge revealed the Helium 3 shipment in a May 13 letter to Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.), conservatives joined the ranks of liberal protesters. During Senate subcommittee hearings that day, the Heritage Foundation's Henry D. Sokolski warned that expanding nuclear-related exports could "send the wrong signal to both South Africa and other Western nuclear fuel exporters."

Lacking indigenous oil supplies and increasingly dependent on nuclear and coal fuels for electricity, South Africa's nuclear energy program is an essential component of the government's plan to build up capacities necessary to withstand international sanctions such as those imposed on white-ruled Rhodesia in the '60s and '70s. Historically an important actor in the development of nuclear power and weapons in the West—South Africa supplied uranium for the U.S. weapons program in the '50s—it is now the world's third largest uranium exporter after the U.S. and Canada. South Africa's own nuclear potential developed with U.S. help under the 1957 "Atoms for Peace" program. The U.S. offered to share nuclear technology and material with South Africa and allowed South African scientists to observe nuclear weapons tests in the South Atlantic during the '60s. The 1957 agreement, renegotiated in 1974, provides for cooperation until 2007.

Numerous other American institutions have large stakes in South Africa's nuclear capacity. For example, mining companies such as Union Carbide, Exxon and U.S. Steel all prospected uranium there. And MIT, the University of Illinois, New York University and other research institutes helped develop South Africa's first research reactor, Safari 1.

Black African countries see South African development of nuclear weapons capability as an effort to intimidate them from fully supporting black liberation movements. They believe this nuclear potential threatens the rest of black Africa and undermines chances to keep the continent a nuclear-free zone.

Increasing support for South Africa is part of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement"—cooperating with governments violating human rights in order to woo them to behave better. But this policy has failed: repression in South Africa has worsened, and aggression against Angola continues. Decisions by the administration suggest that "constructive engagement" is less a short-term experiment than a long-term marriage. Last year it reversed a long-standing ban on visits by high-level South African military and intelligence officers to the U.S. For the first time ever South African coast guardsmen are training in the U.S. And last March, Reagan appointed former *Fortune* editor, Herman W. Nickel, a defender of increased U.S. investment in South Africa and a harsh critic of human rights advocates, as the new U.S. Ambassador to Pretoria.

(This article was compiled from information supplied by Carole Collins.)

IN THE NATION

CITIZENS PARTY

A toddler with determination

By Jim Sleeper

NEW YORK

"THE CITIZENS PARTY IS two years old. And like any other two-year-old, the party has just learned to talk. Its first word is —Burlington!

"The two-year-old has learned the language of politics—winning elections. We have elected three members to the Burlington Board of Aldermen and have broken the 50-year stranglehold of the Democratic Party in that city. The party has won elections not only in Burlington,

The convention marked modest but solid growth, with small-town victories and lots of publicity.

Vt., but also in Schenectady, N.Y., and Seattle. And with the growing size of our vote we are on the way to winning positions in Atlanta, New Haven and Albany."

Naturally, Barry Commoner's opening keynote words brought down the house at the Citizens Party's 1982 national convention in New York on Memorial Day weekend. Three hundred delegates and member-observers from 30 states well-distributed around the country laughed delightedly about their "infant" good health.

And yet the frenetic politicking, impassioned debate and general hoopla typical of conventions didn't really dominate this four-day marathon of organizational work sessions, state and regional reports, peace panel discussions with visiting members of sister "Green" parties from Europe and press conferences for a broad range of media (some national TV and radio networks, UPI, the *New York Times* and other local outlets).

Instead, with a constituency remarkable for its geographical if not yet social diversity, Citizens Party delegates exuded a distinctly low-key, feet-on-the-ground, hard-at-work air. Each of them seemed to have passed through a difficult, watershed discovery to the belief that the Democratic Party is and will remain a corporate-capitalist party that betrays Americans' hopes while it exhausts their political energies. At a time when "the issue of capitalism is beginning to bite," as Commoner put it, Citizens Party members aim to tap a broad, bitter stratum of eligible voters who have reached similar conclusions about the Democrats—usually with a lot less agonizing than party members.

Citizens Party members say they are serious about staying democratically close to voters who have pulled their party's lever. In many areas, in fact, the party actually came into being when people who had voted for Commoner in 1980 decided to find one another to see what else they might have in common. In that spirit, the convention was a sustained, collective effort to come to grips with the special burdens and satisfactions inherent in approaching the American people through a third party—"an apprentice majority party," according to outgoing co-chair Jim McClelland.

The burdens were obvious, of course, and a bit daunting:

- By definition, the party imposes upon itself the stiff, uncompromising test of prying more votes loose from the two-party system each year—a test it reaffirmed at the convention by voting to "strongly discourage" Citizens Party endorsements of other candidates.

- For now, the party lacks enough political leverage or government power to lure trade unionists, embattled minorities and intellectual leaders concerned about the needs of those groups. For starters, the convention made Commoner the chair of a new National Policy Committee that will recruit thinkers and labor leaders whose attention might be turned by increasingly stark Democratic betrayals and increasing Citizens Party victories.

- The party lacks enough money to get its message across to big-city constituencies isolated by ethnic and racial fears and corporate media channels. Here the strategy will vary from state to state—the convention reaffirmed the basic autonomy of its five regional caucuses and dozens of state chapters—but party members are confident that impressive showings in and around urban areas (as in Atlanta, where City Council candidate John Sweet took 49.4 percent of the more than 100,000 votes cast in a 1981 run-off election) will begin to break the spell of two-party politics. "When we elect our first member of Congress"—a prospect no one contemplates in any of this year's 17 Citizens Party races for the House—"the psychological and media barrier will be broken nationwide," said one delegate. A computerized direct-mail campaign is being developed to cash in on the stronger turnouts.

In the meantime, even small-town victories capture statewide publicity, and Citizens Party members are pleased with their growing tallies and name-recognition, even when they lose—as in Charlottesville, Va., where the party's state legislative candidates went from 6 percent of the vote in a January 1981 special election to 19 percent the following November.

The satisfactions of even such modest gains run deep, and they seemed as important as the burdens in accounting for the New York weekend's quiet progress. Delegates on and off the convention floor emphasized that, unlike the hot air and dependence on "celebrities" so characteristic of the left's attempts to ingratiate itself with capitalist parties, the Citizens Party's gains rest on a bedrock of lever-pulling constituencies who have broken the two-party barrier in order to endorse some aspect of economic democracy being offered by a local Citizen Party campaign.

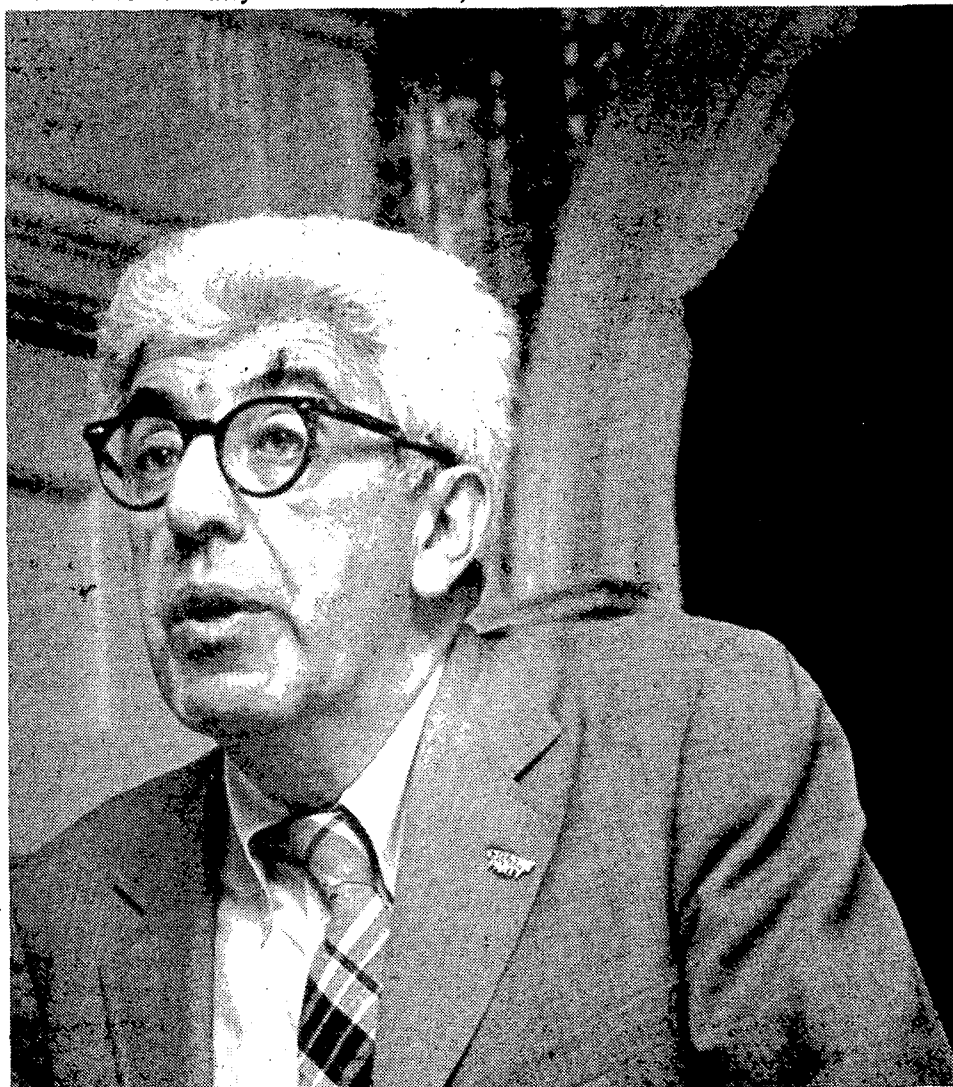
Even when Democrats make themselves alluring, party members are convinced that independence is the better part of wisdom. "It's not that we'd oppose a terrific Democrat," explained political writer and Rhode Island chapter chair Dick Walton. "We might even work as individuals for a left Democrat. But I don't think we as a party should ever endorse them. Offering a real alternative is too important."

Walton and other delegates noted, for example, that even exemplary left Democrats like California Congressman Ron Dellums or New York City Council member Ruth Messinger contribute willy-nilly to Democratic majority control of their respective legislative bodies, a control that doesn't make enough difference to be worth defending. The House's Reagan budget capitulations, coupled with the ef-

forts of Democratic Party leaders like Charles Manatt and Daniel Patrick Moynihan to "lock out" the Kennedy left, are grimly instructive to Citizens Party members.

In addition, said one convention observer, "The left Democrats are afraid to discipline or oppose the boll weevil in divisive primaries because it's taken a look at waning Democratic constituencies and gotten cold feet. The Citizens Party is reaching for voters the Democrats have already lost, so it doesn't have the problem. It's perfectly willing, in effect, to elect a Republican when the Democrat is really no better."

As Citizens Party members see it,



Barry Commoner's keynote remarks signaled electoral wins.

that's talking to the Democrats in the only language Manatt and Moynihan understand, a language leftists within the Democratic Party seem unable to speak. The Citizens Party's ability to "speak" should keep Democratic politicians from getting away with co-opting popular concerns. As delegate Robin Lloyd told the convention, "Vermont Democrats jump on the nuclear freeze bandwagon but they support increased military spending. It's our job to point out the contradiction"—and to make the point stick.

And so, in Vermont, the State Democratic chairman is now desperately wooing Citizens Party state senatorial candidate Marsha Marshall to take the Democratic line, even though he knows she wouldn't endorse or work for any Democrats or support their platform.

When Citizens Party candidates actually win, they have a strong mandate. Burlington alderman Terry Boricous ran explicitly against the "big developers," emphasizing working people's needs, while independent socialist Bernie Sanders won the mayoral seat on the slogan, "Burlington is not for sale." Both came from community organizing backgrounds and had issue-oriented grassroots support. In office, the left block has proposed increases in restaurant and hotel taxes instead of property taxes,

embarrassing the industry-dominated aldermen who would have routinely burdened homeowners and tenants instead of the upscale tourist set. At this writing, a June 8 citywide referendum is expected to endorse the left's proposal—and, by implication, its incumbents and policies.

Boricous and other Citizens Party officeholders have put a lot of faith in the educational power of their campaigns. By responding to the explicit challenges the Citizens Party poses in its campaigns, voters help the party influence the terms of the public debate. Not surprisingly, voter turnouts in Burlington are way up, and include a more diverse electorate.

A deep current of satisfaction for party members flows from their freedom to step out front on issues like disarmament, allying themselves with European peace parties represented at the New York convention. At a press conference, Commoner called for a "disarmament race" to begin with either the U.S. or the Soviet Union destroying a single nuclear weapon and inviting the other power to reciprocate. Commoner believes his proposal will generate worldwide momentum for disarmament. "All the current proposals are smokescreens for continuing armaments," he told the reporters. "They're a way of disarming the peace movement."

Addressing the issue this way is critical to the party not only because of disarmament's overriding moral and economic importance, but also because it shows that a third party presence can make a unique contribution to the discussion.

There are risks, too. In his keynote address and press conference remarks, Commoner seemed reluctant to criticize the Soviet Union or to acknowledge that fears about its intentions are legitimate. Had the media chosen to emphasize some of his more equivocal comments, the ghost of Henry Wallace would have been hard to shake off.

It's difficult to survey this modest but solid growth, around the country and at the recent national convention, without concluding that the "two-year-old" has learned to run as well as talk this year. The most precocious third party in a while is going to scare the hell out of some Democrats who richly deserve it. And, depending on the results of this and next year's races, the phrase "apprentice majority party" may resonate a little more deeply in 1984, as Americans try to decide whether they really want to go back to a Mondale or Kennedy after stumbling so recently from them to the Republicans.

Jim Sleeper writes regularly for the *Village Voice*.

CALIFORNIA

Coalition politics are alive and well

By Thomas Brom

OAKLAND

P RIMARY ELECTIONS—ESPECIALLY in a state like California where party identification is weak—are most interesting as behind-the-scenes power struggles invisible to most of the electorate. The candidates matter, but the political coalitions that support them matter more.

The June 8 primary results were particularly gratifying to three progressive coalitions here—led by Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco, Congressman Ron Dellums in the East Bay and the statewide Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED). In addition, most of the California legislature candidates supported by Assembly speaker Willie Brown won their races, and a statewide coalition soundly defeated the Peripheral Canal. All told, it was an impressive display of left liberal political muscle that bodes well for the general elections in November.

"We are ecstatic," said San Francisco supervisor Harry Britt, a principal ally in Democrat Barbara Boxer's successful primary campaign to succeed John Burton in the 6th Congressional District. "This was a devastating defeat for the downtown political establishment in San Francisco."

Most national attention had been focused on Proposition 9, the Peripheral Canal referendum that would potentially have cost voters \$23 billion in additional state water projects by the year

2010. Relying on a temporary alliance between environmentalists and two disaffected growers who financed much of the media campaign, the anti-canal forces convinced voters across the state that the project simply cost too much. The measure was defeated by a surprisingly easy two-to-three margin, rejected by more than 90 percent of the voters in 31 northern California counties.

It was a sweet victory in an uphill campaign that only a month ago few people thought could be won. But the California water wars will probably continue as usual. In November, the liberal half of the Stop the Canal coalition hopes to pass the so-called Groundwater Initiative, an attempt to force growers to conserve existing water supplies. This time, the campaign will face united agribusiness and water district interests opposed to any reforms in how corporations farm California.

On other statewide measures, Howard Jarvis convinced voters to index the state income tax (costing the state millions of dollars), Paul Gann won a majority for his "Victims Bill of Rights" (which will certainly be challenged in the courts) and voters overwhelmingly defeated a Democratic-controlled reapportionment plan that was ram-rodged through the state legislature last fall. The present electoral districts will remain in effect through November, when the issue will either be returned to the legislature or if the voters approve, turned over to a bi-partisan reapportionment commission.

In statewide office primaries, Jerry Brown easily defeated Gore Vidal for the Democratic senatorial nomination,



Congressman Ron Dellums

and will face San Diego mayor Pete Wilson in November. Vidal won only 15 percent of the Democratic vote, although he gathered 31 percent in San Francisco. Supervisor Britt was not amused by Vidal's campaign, which

didn't even open an office in the city until two weeks before the election. "He's an artist, not a politician," Britt said. "Vidal said all the right things, but had absolutely no organization and made no attempt to reach out to third world communities. I support Jerry Brown even though I like Gore. If you're serious about an electoral politics strategy, you can't go with someone who thumbs his nose at the entire system."

Adds San Francisco political consultant Mal Warwick, "The Vidal vote was a small protest against Brown's stand on the B-1 bomber and the Peripheral Canal. But most of those votes will come back to Brown against Pete Wilson."

In the governor's race, Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley handily beat the token Democratic opposition, but will have a tough—and expensive—fight in November against State's Attorney General George Deukmejian. The "Duke" defeated Lt. Gov. Mike Curb in a mud-slinging Republican campaign that ironically pitted former Reagan public relations firm Spencer-Roberts against Curb-supporter Justin Dart and others in the Reagan "kitchen cabinet." Bradley has PR giant David Garth in his camp, and the ensuing media wars could produce \$3 million in TV spots alone. Bradley will have solid Democratic support, although the ex-cop is pro-canal, pro-nuclear power, anti-abortion and the darling of the downtown establishment. "He's a Republican who happens to be black and registered as a Democrat," Warwick says.

Local progressive victories throughout
Continued on page 10

Cost is high, but Hayden victory could be worth it

By G. Pascal Zachary

SANTA MONICA

TOM HAYDEN'S JUNE 8 VICTORY in the Democratic Party primary here sets the stage for a political battle that not only will determine Hayden's own political future but also will shed light on progressive chances for building a presence in the party.

Usually the Democratic nominee is a sure bet in California's left-leaning 44th Assembly District, but to win in November, Hayden—who defeated his opponent political unknown Steve Saltzman handily—must overcome a well-funded Republican challenge that views his candidacy as an opportunity to test the electorate's tolerance of red-baiting and innuendo. Such scare tactics abounded in the primary campaign, but could not forestall a Hayden victory. Despite frequent personal attacks on Hayden and his wife, actress Jane Fonda, by hastily formed Republican "hit squads" and the far-right U.S. Labor Party, Hayden had little trouble maintaining his front-runner position.

In part this was because he spent about \$500,000 on his campaign. But he also benefitted from his ties to political leaders in the district, which is largely comprised of Santa Monica. Last year, Hayden helped a coalition of left community groups capture the City Council, and he has remained popular with voters here, nearly 60 percent of whom are Democrats.

State Democratic leaders also helped Hayden. While they did not publicly endorse him, they stayed neutral despite pressure to do otherwise. "For some of them," Hayden told *In These Times*, "simply remaining neutral has been an

act of conscience because it has drawn down on them the wrath of some contributors."

While Hayden is expected to receive more upfront support from Democrats in the general election, anti-Hayden feeling still runs deep among some party members and not solely because of his unsuccessful effort to defeat then-incumbent U.S. Sen. John Tunney in the 1976 Democratic primary. "So many people [including long-term Democrats] don't like him or trust him and they can't even articulate why," current District Rep. Mel Levine, one of Hayden's closest political allies and now a congressional candidate,

told *California Journal* earlier this year.

Despite some misgivings, influential state legislators quietly worked on Hayden's behalf to solidify his position by first quashing efforts to create a "Hayden-proof" district during last year's reapportionment and then not promoting a "name" opponent in the primary.

Statewide labor leaders likewise refrained from endorsing Hayden's candidacy, but several union locals threw their support. This, along with much support from the district's Jewish community (because of his strong stand in support of Israeli long-term security), allowed Hayden to campaign with confidence, stressing his opposition to Reaganomics as well as endorsing such initiatives as rent control, a hike in the state oil severance tax and new employee stock ownership plans.

In the past half decade, most of these proposals have been advanced by the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), the 11,000-member statewide group that Hayden founded in 1976 and

still heads. Should he go to Sacramento, CED stands to increase its influence in the party—a CED member already is treasurer of the state party—and might be in a position to support a Hayden bid for statewide office.

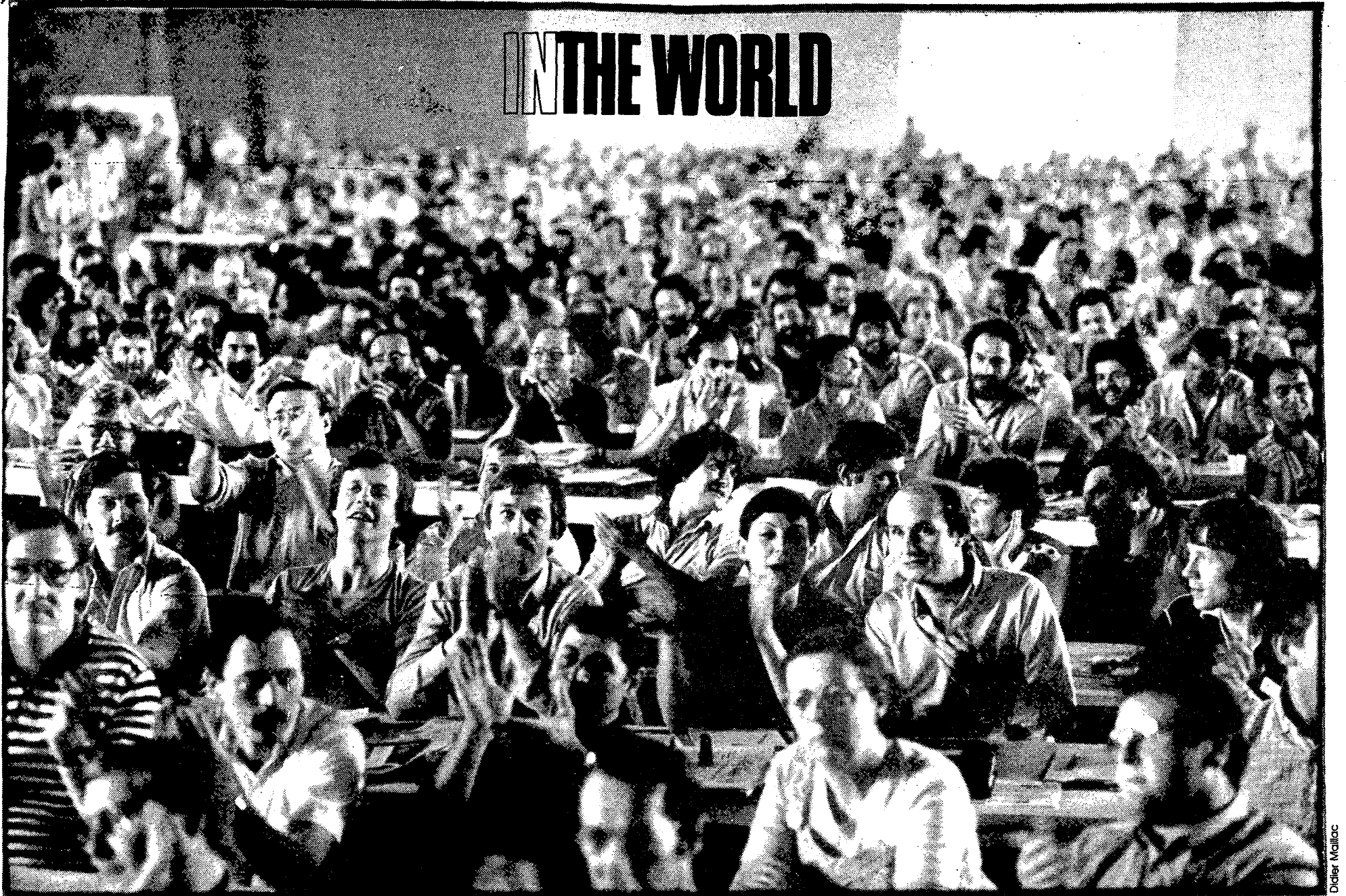
It comes as no surprise that Republicans have vowed to wage an all-out attack on Hayden this fall, promising to raise more than \$1 million from conservatives throughout the country. But Hayden—with the help of Fonda and CED—expects to match that war chest with one of his own, making this assembly race the most expensive in state history.

Though he called the seat's price tag astronomical, Hayden said he believes the spending level is justified. "I have to raise as much money as I can to combat my opponent's distorted claims about me. But I look at it as an investment in a long-term incumbency. I don't think there will be another race like this two or four years from now if I win. This is the test by fire."

To win in November, Tom Hayden must overcome a well-funded Republican challenge.



IN THE WORLD



Confederation leader Edmond Maire told the congress that new bonds of solidarity between wage earners must be forged now "because the working class finds itself largely torn apart by the blows of the economic crisis and management policy."

FRANCE

No. 2 trade union federation edges toward first place

By Diana Johnstone

This is the first of two reports on the state of French organized labor that is faced with a left government and deepening unemployment. Next month: the CGT.

P A R I S

FRANCE'S SECOND-LARGEST trade union confederation, the Confederation Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT), recently proclaimed its ambition to become the number one labor party here. It announced a policy of "new solidarities" designed to reunite an increasingly fragmented working class.

CFDT leader Edmond Maire told the organization's 39th congress in Metz the last week in May that "we can reasonably give ourselves the historic ambition of becoming, before too long, the principal force of French trade unionism."

If this ambition seems reasonable, it is less because the CFDT is growing than because the rival Confederation Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor, CGT) has been losing militant members at an even faster rate. The CGT has been number one since it was founded in 1906. At the outset predominantly anarchosindicalist, the CGT was led by Socialists between the World Wars and has been controlled by the French Communist Party (PCF) since the end of World War II.

The CFDT, on the other hand, was originally a Catholic labor organization—tame and paternalistic. In 1964 it cast off its religious affiliation and vowed to

"combat all forms of capitalism and totalitarianism." But it deliberately remained "ideological," inspired by "different forms of humanism, including Christian humanism," in contrast to the American style of pragmatic trade unionism represented in France by Force Ouvrière (Worker strength), which broke off from the CGT during the Cold War with AFL and CIA backing. In the early '70s, CFDT leaders frequently spoke of a "break with capitalism" and construction of "socialism based on self-management [autogestion]."

A common desire to lead society in a socialist direction provided a basis for co-operation between the CFDT and the CGT, despite their ideological and political differences. But this partnership fell apart in 1978 with the breakdown of left unity. And last year's election of a Social-

whether or not they have joined a union. These elections provide a more open measure of the relative influence (if not strength) of the rival unions. While fluctuating greatly, recent election results showed that the CFDT is gaining on the CGT.

Often the reasons why one union scores higher than another are purely local. Insofar as they are national, the main reasons for CFDT gains are probably PCF sectarianism, its ardent championing of Polish solidarity, the changing composition of the working class and the attractive media image of the CFDT and especially its general secretary Edmond Maire. Workers cherish unity and tend to blame the PCF—and punish the CGT—for the 1978 split.

A favorable media image has helped carry CFDT influence into small businesses and isolated, under-organized sections of the working class—where the CFDT has been growing. The current trend is that most jobs are being created only by small and medium businesses, whereas the number of employees is dropping in the big factories that have traditionally been the stronghold of the CGT. This trend encourages the CFDT hope to become the biggest French labor organization with a modern approach adapted to new economic and social realities.

Explaining the "new solidarities" Maire told the Metz congress, "Today it is urgent to forge new bonds of solidarity between wage earners as the working class finds itself largely torn apart by the blows of the economic crisis and management

ious situations.

There is also a sizeable gap between the CFDT leadership and its base. The leadership, a compact group of thinkers, churns out policy in Paris. The base, a disparate collection of militants, has a reputation (exaggerated) for being *gauchistes* (meaning left of the PCF), which is left over from May 1968. Every two or three years the two groups get together for a congress and yell at each other. Or to be more precise, at Metz about one-third of the delegates criticized, booed, whistled and pounded tables in protest against leadership policy while Maire and his colleagues smiled benignly from the podium, knowing they had it all sewed up from the start.

Politicized French workers have traditionally adhered to "class" unions—the CGT, the CFDT—that put the interests of the working class as a whole ahead of "corporatist" interests of a special category. They have rejected both the apolitical, pragmatic corporatism of American trade unionism (AFL style) or the politicized corporatism of fascism in the name of an over-arching identification with a working class whose historic mission is to achieve a higher, more just stage of civilization: "communism" for some, "socialism" for others. Recent economic developments have been fragmenting and dispersing the working class, while a range of political factors have been shattering the credibility of the revolutionary project in France.

The draft resolution presented by CF-

It recently announced a policy of "new solidarities" designed to reunite a fragmented working class.

ist president and the entrance of Communists into a left coalition government has failed to patch it up.

In 1978 the CFDT began losing about 4 percent of its membership every year, and the drain on the CGT has been even worse. Recently, membership has leveled off. The CGT currently claims is has close to two million members, while the CFDT claims close to one million.

In the workplace, the various unions compete for members and run rival lists of candidates to the committees representing all employees and elected by all of them,

policy." The CFDT gives priority to the least favored segments of the working class: minimum wage earners, women, immigrants, "precarious" employees with temporary status and the over two million unemployed. In practice, this means such things as coming out in favor of obliging public employees, who do not risk involuntary unemployment because of their permanent status, to contribute to unemployment compensation funds. Maire warned that "the gap is growing wider" between workers with relatively guaranteed jobs and workers in precar-

DT leaders for congress approval noted that the crisis "is also a crisis of social relations" that "develops inequalities," "fragments the community of work" and encourages "individualistic or corporatist withdrawal." To head off the "rise of corporatism" perceptible in French society, the resolution said equalities must be reduced and new solidarities built.

To much of the rank-and-file, this all sounds like a fancy way of saying that workers must accept stagnation or reduction of their purchasing power, and work out among themselves how to divide up a

smaller cake instead of expanding it at the expense of the capitalist exploiters. Many fear that in the name of "solidarity," far from reuniting the working class, the CFDT risks exacerbating its divisions.

The leadership demonstrated its "solidarity" convictions, and incidentally helped assure its majority, by presenting measures favoring two underprivileged segments of the working class: retired workers, who were given voting rights at the congress, and women, who were given 10 seats on the National Bureau. To be sure, none of the male leaders leaped to give a woman his seat. Instead, the Bureau was enlarged from 31 to 39 members to let eight new women in. Power remains with the 10-member executive commission, with one lone woman.

Women make up a third of CFDT membership but very few women make it to positions of responsibility. The voluntarist measure to bring women into the National Bureau was threatened by a proposed amendment to promote Women's Commissions and discussion of women's problems at all levels of the organization. Thus by shrewdly selecting an amendment in terms of an either/or choice instead of one that proposed both measures, the leadership set liberal feminists in favor of the quota to quarreling with radical feminists in favor of the Commissions.

The election of the eight new women was hailed in the CFDT by a sexist drawing showing triumphant feminists running a bra and panties up a flagpole. The drawing was condemned from the podium by the woman executive commissioner, Nicole Notat, amid hoots and hollers from male unionists who couldn't for the

life of them see what the fuss was about.

Arguing "realism" in the face of the economic crisis, Maire has backed away from stands taken at the previous CFDT congress in Brest in 1979. At that time the CFDT resolved to fight for the 35-hour week without loss of pay as a job-creating measure. But last July 1, not long after the left came to office, Maire signed a protocol with the national employers association agreeing to a 39-hour week. This agreement did not have a majority of the National Bureau at the time and has continued to be blasted from the rank-and-file as a sellout that undercut local struggles.

The left government subsequently translated the 39-hour work week into law, but its impact on job creation has been negligible. Meanwhile, Maire has abandoned the demand to maintain full pay for a shorter work week, again in the name of solidarity (with the unemployed). But the congress did pass an amendment specifying that the shorter work week should entail no loss of pay for salaries up to twice the minimum wage.

Maire's current influence is directly tied to the fact that the CFDT was the first major organization on the left to admit that France could not escape the effects of the world economic crisis. The rest of the left—the Socialist Party, the PCF and the CGT—went through the '70s pretending (or perhaps, in the case of the Socialists, actually believing) that the economic crisis was merely a pretext for exploitation or an excuse for mismanagement. Now that the left is in office, the tune has changed, and only Maire has not had to skip a note. Now leftists talk about "effort," "rigor" and

"realism."

"The working class has everything to gain from a policy of rigor and truth," Maire said. "If the government wants to escape from incessant guerrilla warfare by corporatist pressure groups, then it will call on everyone to get together to respond to the crisis and it will place workers at the heart of the realization of self-management socialism."

Finance Minister Jacques Delors lost no time in declaring himself an ardent "fan" of the CFDT leader.

A baby step.

Maire's strategy is to seek a lasting social compromise between labor, management and the state on the basis of a trade-off. Labor will moderate its quantitative demands in return for certain qualitative gains, starting with "workplace rights," currently under debate in the National Assembly. The bill, introduced by Labor Minister Jean Auroux and largely inspired by the CFDT, would expand workers' rights of expression on the job and give them a certain measure of control over working conditions. This would be a very cautious baby step in the direction of "self-management socialism." Most not-

ably it leaves aside the central question of social control over investment capital. Still, the bosses seem to bitterly oppose it.

Maire is one of the most intelligent and stimulating figures on the French political scene today. His discourse is coherent, yet there are many underlying contradictions. The basic contradiction is between, on the one hand, a global strategy requiring choices that can be made only at the national or international level (between direct and indirect wages, partition of the wage mass) and, on the other hand, an ideological insistence on decentralization and localized self-management. This profound contradiction is reflected in the CFDT, where there is minimal articulation between the leadership intellectuals deciding policy and the union locals—largely on their own, independent if not downright rebellious, but with no way to get a handle on the big issues. Most of the rank-and-file simply do not see how they can put Maire's fine principles into practice (see interview with Daniel Torqueo).

And many fear that if the working class unilaterally calls off the class struggle in the name of solidarity, the privileged classes will only take this as a signal to go in for the kill.

Interview with a dissenting leader

Surely the most dissenting voice on the CFDT's newly elected National Bureau will be that of Daniel Torqueo, leader of the Federation of clothing, leather and textile workers ("HaCuiTex"). It is known as CFDT's *enfant terrible*, its most radical federation. That may be an exaggeration. What is certain is that the clothing and textile workers—most of them women—have to put up with the lowest wages and most tyrannical bosses in France.

As in other advanced countries, jobs are vanishing as investment moves to countries with even lower wages. About 650,000 people are employed in clothing, leather and textile manufacturing today in France, compared to a million 10 years ago.

Union membership is also dropping. According to Torqueo, there are three reasons for this. First is the purely mechanical effect of the decrease in the number of workers. Second is wage-earners' declining interest in union activity in recent years, something that has hurt all the unions. Third is the strong repression of union militants, which is "typical of the textile industry and garment manufacture," he said.

"In 1979, when the number of employees in our branches was reduced by 5.25 percent, a whopping 22.7 percent of elected CFDT delegates were dismissed," Torqueo told *In These Times*. "This shows that the bosses systematically use economic layoffs to get rid of union activists. This has completely disrupted our organization and made it very hard to keep in contact with our members, so that we lose members at an even faster rate."

One of the HaCuiTex Federation's complaints against the national Confederation leadership is that it has not come out in favor of keeping alive a textile and clothing industry here. At the congress HaCuiTex leaders argued that the textile industry should be saved, not only for the sake of jobs but also to preserve freedom of choice.

Torqueo said that if the CFDT would adopt an official policy of keeping such

threatened basic industries at least partly alive, this would "improve our image with employees and help us recruit." As it is, the CFDT is behind the openly protectionist CGT in the textile and clothing industries, especially in the bigger companies.

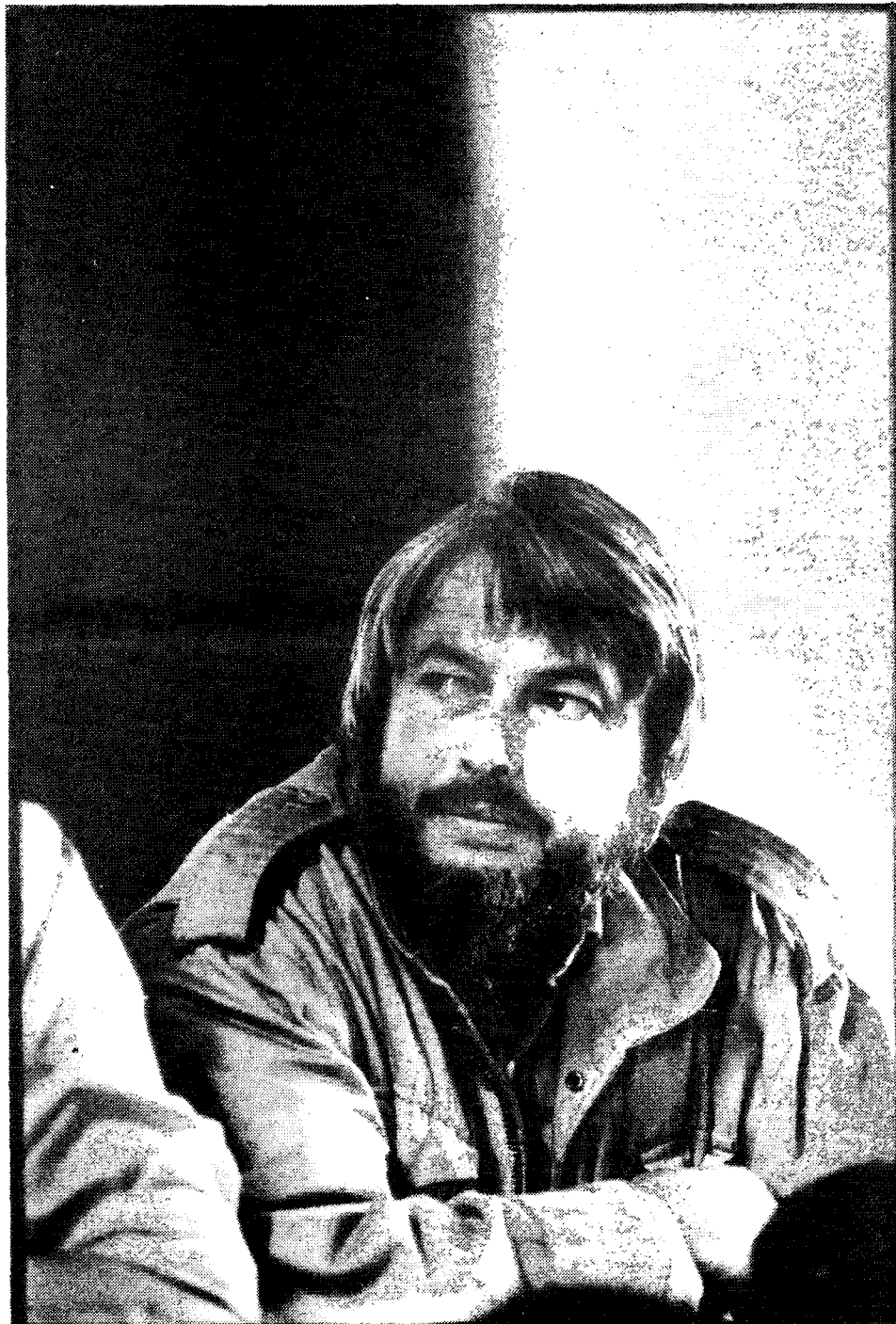
He thinks the CFDT should formulate demands that can "remobilize the workers" in united action with the CGT. This is necessary to create a favorable relationship of forces. Afterward he acknowledges that economic realities must be taken into account in bargaining with management, but demands should not be moderated at the outset.

Torqueo said he believes that in the immediate phase some protection measures must be taken "so that international competition doesn't completely wipe out branches like the textile industry."

"We should strictly supervise investments by major French firms abroad. And also their imports. For instance, we know of firms that are going to benefit from government measures intended to favor investment and employment which at the same time are investing abroad. That means they will eventually be importing. There's something wrong there."

His main criticism of CFDT leader Edmond Maire's "new solidarity" policy is that it doesn't work in practice. "When they talk of new solidarities, we in HaCuiTex are not against them. But how, concretely, can these solidarities be made to work? It's impossible. Some sectors are better off than others. You're not going to persuade the head of a clothing manufacturing firm, who pays his women employees the minimum wage, to raise their pay appreciably because at the other end of the chain, the boss of a pharmaceutical, petroleum or banking firm held his employees' wages down," he said.

"We think this policy is not operational. The bosses are not going to play by these rules. And the workers themselves are not making this demand. We're asking workers to identify with a demand that is not their own. They want better pay, better working conditions, things



Daniel Torqueo, head of the Federation of clothing, leather and textile workers

like that."

In his speech to the congress, Torqueo asked what had happened to the "break with capitalism" that has been an official CFDT goal since 1970. He declared that "solidarity" between workers could not cure unemployment, since "unemployment is not caused by workers' lack of solidarity and can be combated only by taking control of the economy away from the capitalist ruling class." He challenged CFDT leaders to come out and admit it if they have decided that "the only alternative to totalitarian socialism is capitalism and the Western camp."

According to Torqueo, HaCuiTex wants to "put self-management socialism (*Socialisme autogestionnaire*) back on the agenda." And, he added, "We want to put workers' mobilization on the agenda, to bring pressure for change. We want a clear debate on how to stay on a course toward self-management socialism with a left government, over what strategic goals should be set to go toward the transition to self-management socialism."

Must the CFDT get bigger than the CGT before socialization of enterprises is feasible?

"We in HaCuiTex want our Confederation to gain a majority, but on clear bases," he answered. "We don't want to wait until we have a majority to move toward self-management socialism. On the contrary, we think we should commit ourselves clearly to self-management socialism in order to gain a majority."

Torqueo worked in a textile factory in the small town of Flixecourt near Amiens in Picardy for 16 years until he was fired after a particularly militant strike in 1976. His appeal to be rehired has been going back and forth through various courts ever since. He has been a member of the Socialist Party for over 10 years, in its left current headed by Jean-Pierre Chevenement.

Chevenement is now Minister of Research and Technology and declared in a recent interview that socialism is not a realistic project for this historical period, since popular consciousness has obviously not yet evolved far enough. —D.J.

CLC

Continued from page 3

likely that date will pass without a strike. It's expected to be long and costly, and the Canadian UAW will depend on the international union's \$400 million strike fund.

In Quebec, the government is attempting to erase wage gains negotiated two years ago by 300,000 public employees, represented by the 320,000-member, CLC-affiliated Federation des travailleurs du Quebec (FTQ) and by two other Quebec labor centrals. One of the two outside the CLC, the 240,000-member Confederation des syndicats nationaux (CSN), which represents the majority of the public sector workers, has already called on the CLC to co-sponsor a national general strike.

According to McDermott, Quebec may be the first battleground. "If we're going to strike anywhere, I'd just as soon it started in Quebec, because that's where we have the footsoldiers."

The stance adopted by the convention is a sign that the left has taken some giant strides in the CLC. Another was the election of Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the militant Canadian Union of Postal Workers, as a vice-president-at-large on the CLC's executive council. Parrot, whose union led left-wing forces at the convention, cracked the election slate recommended by the

leadership. There were other important elections: Dave Patterson, the young director of Steelworkers District 6, defeated the incumbent director a year ago in a rank-and-file ballot on a program of internal union reform and Pierre Samson, the militant who recently defeated the favored candidate at a convention to become president of the 160,000-member Public Service Alliance of Canada. Both Patterson and Samson were on the recommended slate.

The left lost the debate on affiliation to the New Democratic Party (NDP), whose provincial government in Saskatchewan legislated striking hospital workers back on the job just before losing in a recent election. The left argues that labor should pursue direct political action rather than affiliate to any political party. While the margin of defeat on this issue was large, it was not as over-

whelming as in the past.

Nevertheless, the shape of the executive council and the left-leaning direction of the policy statements means the CLC executive is being pressured to show more militancy by a membership that is hard squeezed in the economic crisis. In some cases, it is only a difference of degree. McDermott said he was "not terribly upset" over Parrot's election and told a post-convention press conference that fraternal delegates from other parts of the world told him they "never witnessed a union convention with such participation and open, honest dissent."

The CLC now faces the challenge of implementing its policies at the rank-and-file level. But considerable progress was made during the week on a coordinated bargaining approach, something that has not been attempted before. De-

spite the loss of the building trades unions, construction workers were represented by delegates from the FTQ's construction department and by members of a CLC-chartered building trades council in Ontario.

In the longer term, the CLC's decisive moves will keep it at the helm of the labor movement here. With the defection of the construction unions, the CLC now represents little more than half of Canada's union members. But the CLC left the door open to discussions with the building trades by not formally expelling them at the convention, as had been expected. Discussions with British Columbia building trades leaders are taking place, so further developments are anticipated.

Collin Gribbons writes regularly for several Canadian publications on labor issues.

Election

Continued from page 7

the state may ultimately prove more satisfying than these highly publicized statewide campaigns. Marin County supervisor Barbara Boxer, for instance, defeated San Francisco supervisor Louise Renne by a wide margin in the race for the 6th Congressional District seat vacated by John Burton this fall. The campaign seemed to be a polite competition between two liberal Demo-

crats, but in fact represented a power struggle between the liberal and moderate wings of the local Democratic Party. Boxer relied on the San Francisco organizing of progressive supervisors Harry Britt, Nancy Walker and Carol Ruth Silver, while Renne built her political career as a protégé of San Francisco mayor Diane Feinstein. The results were a bitter defeat for the mayor, threatening her own re-election campaign next year as well as any ambitions for higher office. It also frees Britt, Walker and Silver to work for the November re-election of brother Phil Burton in the adjoining 5th District, confident of their ability to deliver votes in the city's gay, third world

and left communities.

A similar coalition in the East Bay produced both an easy victory for 8th District Congressman Ron Dellums and Tom Bates' surprisingly thorough drubbing of conservative challenger Tom Dove in the State Assembly race. Bates was an early champion of the Stop the Canal forces and a strong supporter of tenant and elderly rights in Sacramento. Sean Gordon, an aide to Berkeley mayor Gus Newport, calls Bates "the most interesting politician in the state—the only one consistently on the edge of social change issues."

For his efforts, however, Bates was targeted by statewide Republicans in the primary. Dove received \$10,000 each from the generally Republican United for California political action committee (PAC), the California real estate PAC and the California Medical Association PAC. The entire East Bay coalition rose to Bates' defense, in the process, carrying other candidates and other measures to victory. Berkeley defeated a landlord measure that would have gutted the existing rent control law, passed another that toughened rent control by lowering permissible increases and enacting criminal penalties for landlords who refuse to comply, and passed what is believed to be the first commercial rent control law in the country. Several neighborhoods have recently been transformed by developers who have replaced five-and-dimes and soda fountains with trendy boutiques.

In addition, former Dellums aide Sandre Swanson came in first in a non-partisan primary for Oakland supervisor and will face a runoff in November. His election would mark a further power shift to third world and flatland communities in East Oakland.

Finally, the June primary proved highly successful for the Santa-Monica-based CED, the organization stemming from Tom Hayden's unsuccessful run for Senate in 1976. CED-supported candidates won two council seats in Davis, a clerk post in Yolo County, a supervisor seat in Butte County, a council seat runoff in San Jose, and State Assembly nominations for John Means in Bakersfield and Tom Hayden in Santa Monica.

Ironically, the several electoral victories on the left in California were matched by hardening conservative forces on the right. Two statewide propositions favoring bail restrictions passed easily, along with a measure calling for new prison construction bonds. Gift and inheritance taxes were also abolished, presumably because all Californians believe they will one day be rich. Many races in the general election in November pit very liberal candidates against very conservative ones.

With the lines so clearly drawn—and with the Nuclear Freeze Initiative up for a vote—a great deal of national attention will be focused on the state. Republicans are expected to pour more than \$1 million into the effort to defeat Phil Burton and for the first time in 10 years, Ron Dellums will face a strong challenger. But for now, the left-liberal coalitions in California aren't worried. "I see Democrats being elected all over the state in November," says Berkeley mayoral aide Gordon. "At this point, it doesn't matter what Reagan does."

In These Times

Special Summer Gift Sale!

Give one six month gift subscription and give another one free!

Take advantage of our SPECIAL SUMMER GIFT OFFER—Give one six month gift subscription for \$13 and give another six month gift for FREE! Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do all the rest—even send the gift cards!

In These Times
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

☐ Bill me later.
☐ Payment enclosed.

My name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____

Send my first \$13 six month gift to:

My name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____

Send my FREE six month gift to:

My name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

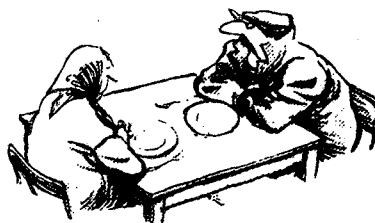
Zip _____

Sign gift cards _____

For faster service use our toll-free number: 800-247-2160
Iowa residents call: 1-800-362-2860

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



'THE PARTY SAYS, "EAT!"'

POLAND

Playing the waiting game

By David Ost

WARSAW, MAY 24

ALMOST SIX MONTHS HAVE passed since the government suspended trade unions and declared martial law. And it's been three months since the government issued its "proposals" on re-establishing the union movement, a blueprint for negating union independence.

The proposals reject the regional structure that was Solidarity's great strength. A strike would be allowed only as the last resort, if it were "not political" and if it did not conflict with state interests—and only the state could decide if these conditions were met.

In a country where the overwhelming majority of enterprises are state-owned, strikes can hardly be directed at anyone other than the state. And could any strike be judged not to conflict with state interests while Poland is in a state of crisis?

It will likely be years before trade unions are revived. The authorities see the crisis as a long-term one, and trade unions could only get in the way. Although they release favorable statistics about how production in a certain factory or mine has increased, the authorities publish only gloomy stories about the future. The "next few years," they say, will be hard and sparse. A series of articles in a Warsaw paper showed how clothing stores throughout the country are absolutely empty, and noted that the situation "is not expected" to change for a long time.

According to an army captain and Party member, Party leaders predict the country will begin to lift itself out of the crisis around 1990. The state of war, meanwhile, will be maintained for the next few years in order to promulgate moderate economic reform and—displaying a wishful thinking that is either absurd or tragic—to "regain the confidence of society." Without the slightest humiliation, the authorities argue openly that they can win public support only while exercising martial law.

From all indications, they haven't got a chance. Opposition appears to be almost universal. Even those who criticize Solidarity usually reserve harsher words for the Party state. At the same time, the few system supporters that remain can only try to minimize its drawbacks, not stress its achievements.

For now, people are deprived not only

of the present, but also of a hope for a future. This is one of the most drastic changes in Polish social life. The grandiose hopes of August have been buried deep by the guns of December.

One 20-year-old woman who has had payments made on an apartment for her since she was three and would normally have received one in a few years time, was told by the housing cooperative that under present conditions the wait would be 35 years! "Why should my generation work?" she asked. "We have nothing to look forward to. Maybe that's why I haven't found a single supporter of this system among the young people I know."

In the first weeks of martial law the

shattered state of the economy was the basis for hope. No one could imagine a long "war" because the economy would only suffer more. But the key question was recently posed by Wiktor Kulski, a Solidarity leader now in hiding: "What if the authorities consider economic regress and social unrest as less costly to them than compromise?" So far, this seems to be the case.

Some far-sighted people still have hope, based on the assumption that society will continue to be hostile to the authorities, who will not be able to govern without a true social accord. During the last two years, a main consideration has been the decimation of the Party.

IRAN

Khomeini wins a third victory in Iraq

By Fred Halliday

LONDON

THE RECAPTURE OF THE PORT of Khorramshahr by Iranian troops marks the greatest triumph won by Iran so far in its 20-month war with Iraq, and it opens the way for what may become the third great triumph of Khomeini's Islamic Revolution. If the first victory was the defeat of the Shah, and the second the humiliation of Jimmy Carter in the hostage crisis, the third is intended to be the overthrow of what Khomeini sees as the Satanic, infidel and blasphemous regime of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

Hussein miscalculated badly when he launched his attack on Iran in September 1980, at a time when Iran's military forces appeared to be in disarray. But the Iranian victory has been won, above all, on the strength of the revolutionary morale of the Iranian troops—regulars of the armed forces and irregulars of the Islamic Guards—have shown in battle.

Iran's victory, however, reflects more than this. It shows the ability of its commanders, many of them promoted rapidly in the course of the war, to innovate in tactics and in weapons maintenance. And

it also reflects the underlying strengths Iran had from the start: a population three times that of Iraq and reserves of military skill and equipment built up by the Shah's rapid expansion of his armed forces in the '70s.

The Iraqis could indeed see Khorramshahr as a defeat not when they lost it this May, but when they captured it in September 1980. For it was the failure to push on into Iranian territory, to hit bases and supply lines, and particularly to knock out Iran's main oil export facilities on Kharg Island that laid the basis for subsequent defeat. In contrast, Iran has, in concert with its Arab ally Syria, been able to reduce greatly Iraq's oil exports, which can now only be transported via the meager pipeline that passes through Turkey.

Despite their Khorramshahr victory, the Iranians are now unlikely to accept a compromise peace. In characteristic vein, Radio Tehran has said that its forces will stop only when they have reached Jerusalem, and the terms laid down by Khomeini's government are ones that the Iraqis must still find it almost impossible to meet. Iran demands an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal—perhaps an academic point now, given the rout of the Iraqis. But it also insists on acceptance of the frontier agreement signed in 1975. Iraq's one explicit war aim was to redraw their

Many people expected that, like in Hungary, the Party would be dissolved. Instead, its remnants have been unconvincingly placed back near the top, though there is little reason to believe the Party will ever again be capable of running the system.

Thus, the hope is that it will have to negotiate with representatives of Solidarity—the "society in opposition"—and will have to allow an independent political expression in order to set in motion a normal political and economic process. One sociologist from Warsaw University said he thought that in two years time the authorities would have to allow independently organized political voices to argue and even implement radically reformist policies.

The other possibility, of course, is that outright military rule and the draconian regulations of the state of war will stay in force for many years, regardless of social costs. No doubt many old figures in the apparatus would oppose this. (There are already reports of in-fighting between the old state administrators and the new army administrators, with the former said to be falsifying statistics to put the military administrators in the worst possible light.)

But continued military rule might remain the Soviet Union's wish, given the present unreliability of any possible new civil regime.

The hopeful scenarios all have a central assumption: that political possibility, or the chance for reform, is still essentially an internal matter. For years this has also been the view of an influential, independent intellectual group, a kind of unofficial think-tank made up of leading professors and social critics, called the Experience and Future group (known by its Polish initials DIP). Founded in 1978, DIP has issued several reports arguing the need for major reform and proposing concrete steps for implementation. (Their first report, titled *Poland Today: The State of the Republic*, was published in English by M.E. Sharpe in 1981.)

But its latest report, excerpted in the underground *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, begins with the statement that "December 13 internationalized the Polish question." The possibility for reform is now located in Moscow and, indirectly, in Washington, the report says. Instead of making

Continued on page 22

common Shatt al-Arab river frontier.

The Iranians are also demanding an Iraqi admission of responsibility for the war and payment of war damages—valued at up to \$100 billion, or three times Iraq's annual oil revenues. But to these four long-standing demands, the Iranians have now added a fifth: the removal from office of Hussein. Khomeini has urged the Iraqi president to commit suicide, and Iranian ministers have stated since the fall of Khorramshahr that they will not negotiate with a government headed by Hussein.

It is true that Iran does not have territorial claims on Iraq, and some Iranian leaders have stated that they will not enter Iraqi territory. The Cuban representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement who have visited Tehran have been told the same thing. And for all its hard line at the moment, Tehran might prove more flexible on its original conditions, as it did during the hostage crisis.

But the temptation for Iran to press on into Iraq in order to force acceptance of its peace conditions must be strong and to this added the temptation of trying to install a radical Islamic government in Baghdad. Some clerical leaders inside Iran have openly called for this, and banners flying along the southern battle front have called on the "Combatants of Islam," the official term for the Iranian army, to march on to Karbala and Najaf, the holy places of Shia Islam lying beyond Baghdad. While many sections of the Iraqi opposition are hostile to the idea of having a Khomeini-style clerical dictatorship in Iraq, the Iranian authorities have been trying to build links with the religious opposition to the Baghdad government and may try to install their nominees in power.

Continued on page 22

Pla f ke

toral and grassroots activity and of assembling coalitions across traditional lines. By the late '80s, Republicans could experience the same mixture of fear and loathing when they hear the name of Heather Booth or OPIC's Ira Arlook that Democrats now experience at the mention of Richard Viguerie or Terry Dolan.

THE 37-YEAR-OLD Booth represents a part of the '60s left that has sustained itself and even grown during the bleak '70s. Where parts of the student, civil rights and antiwar movements either disappeared or turned toward self-isolating forms of Marxism-Leninism, Booth constantly kept looking for the means of building a majority movement. In the process, Booth and her allies could be accused of sometimes placing more emphasis on who they organized than in what they organized people for, but at the end of the decade Booth could envisage herself a leader of a network of popularly based statewide organizations with growing ties to labor and left Democrats.

In 1973, Booth, a veteran of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), the most important student civil rights organization, and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), decided to set up the Midwest Academy. She had been impressed by the Citizens Action Project (CAP), a Chicago community organization in which her husband Paul had played a leading role. CAP had used the methods developed by Saul Alinsky in Chicago's Woodlawn—his emphasis on winning immediate and visible victories based on a constituency's self-interest—to build a citywide coalition of whites, blacks, students and working-class homeowners. In the early '70s, CAP successfully blocked the creation of a crosstown expressway.

CAP united groups that the '60s left had divided. It organized what some leftists wistfully described as "ordinary Americans." And it operated on a larger scale than the typical Alinsky community organization.

In the Midwest Academy, Booth set out to combine Alinsky's methods with some of the goals of the '60s left. The students not only learned how to write a leaflet, organize a press conference and stage a dramatic protest, but also were encouraged to read Sheila Rowbotham's *Women, Resistance and Revolution* and articles on workers' control of industry by British socialist Michael Barratt Brown.

The Academy's early alumni read like a who's who of organizing in the '70s. They include Ellen Cassidy, a founder of Boston's 9 to 5, which later spawned the national organization, Working Women, and the national clerical workers union, SEIU District 925, Mary Jean Collins, the former head of NOW in Illinois, Miles Rappaport, the director of the Connecticut Citizens Action Group, and Roberta Lynch, a leader of the New American Movement (NAM).

Cassidy, who is now the national director of Working Women, said the Academy changed her life. "It made me apply some very common sense to organizing. It took very large issues like economic justice and brought them down to index cards and organizing meetings."

Many of the early Academy students were drawn from NOW, working women's organizations and the newly emerging citizens' groups like OPIC and Illi-

SHE THE DIRECTOR of the Midwest Academy, a Chicago school for political organizers, Heather Booth had a hand in many of the organizing successes of the '70s, from the development of working women's organizations to the emergence of statewide citizen's groups. In 1979, she had organized the Citizen Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC), which brought unions and community organizers together to fight rising gas and oil prices. But as Booth watched the 1980 Republican convention she began to have doubts about what she and the left had accomplished in the '70s.

"So much of our strategy was based on winning victories, but I realized that we weren't really winning anymore," she said. "We were doing it with mirrors—cutting a utility rate hike from 14 to 7 percent or winning access to jobs at a plant just before it began laying off workers."

Booth's doubts crystallized during Reagan's acceptance speech. "I heard Reagan talking about family, neighborhood, work, peace and prosperity," Booth said. "That's what I believe in, too. But our message of how to achieve them wasn't getting across. I realized that rather than changing the principles of what we believe in, we had to find some way to change tactics."

Booth began to reconsider her distrust of elections, which reflected both her experience in the early '60s civil rights movement and the influence of Saul Alinsky's community organizing methods. "That's the arena where the American people were focusing their attention for change," Booth said.

On May 18, almost two years later, Booth officially convened the State and Local Leadership Project, a national organization that will train campaign workers and candidates and fund races for local and state offices. With Booth as its director and former Kennedy campaign staff member Paul Tully as its Director of Training, the project will target races in at least six states in 1982.

Booth's conversion to an electoral strategy signaled an important evolution in that part of the left with which she has been identified. Organizations like the 75,000-family Massachusetts Fair Share or the influential Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC) are now plunging head first into the electoral arena. Even the most hardcore community organizations, like Chicago's Organization of the Northeast, are now rethinking their past avoidance of elections.

But Booth's conversion may eventually affect not merely the left, but the political mainstream. Booth and her allies currently lack the money and computers that helped fuel the new right assault, but they have a similar strategy of combining elec-

"We have to get busy," says veteran community organizer Heather Booth.

Photo by Scott Van Osdel



By Joh

Comm
strate

nois Public Action. But over the years, the Academy has extended its influence nationally. It now trains organizers from over 100 groups—from the Wisconsin Advocates for Battered Women to the Topeka Housing and Information Center. It has also begun to train local labor union staff interested in community organizing. This February, for instance, two of the Academy's staff went to West Palm Beach to hold workshops for 30 members of the building trades.

The Academy alumni constitute an informal network of political organizers that span the concerns of the post-'60s left. They come to Booth for jobs and advice, and many of them attend the Academy's annual summer retreat in South Bend, Ind. This is the closest the left comes to having its own version of Bohemian Grove, the northern California summer get-together for corporation heads, generals and former presidents.

In 1979, the network was formalized through the founding of Citizens Action, a national organization of eight statewide groups, and CLEC. CLEC, founded by

Booth and Machinist president William Winpisinger, brought labor officially into the Booth coalition strategy.

AT THE NOVEMBER Citizen Action conference, Booth spelled out her new electoral strategy. "What's needed is not just to elect one out of 50, but have an approach in which we can build—not in the first year, the second or the third—to be the majority. This means recruiting and training our candidates and having targeted goals. With national coordination, a national program and institutional commitments, by 1984 Citizen Action groups could target something like 500 candidates committed to a common program at the city, state and congressional level."

The first manifestations of the new electoral strategy occurred among the citizen's groups and CLEC. Illinois Public Action set up its own political action committee. The 17,000-family Connecticut Citizen Action teamed with LEAP (the Legislative Electoral Action Pro-

ing r ps



Photo by Lenora Davis

state and local level and built broad and deep....They successfully built organizations around strongly felt problems and used them to mobilize around their candidates."

The Project's initial base has been the Machinists and the Citizen Action affiliates, but it has also stirred interest among Democrats like Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), the former head of the Black Caucus, Colorado state senator Polly Baca Barragan, the vice-chair of the Democratic National Committee, and Essex County (Newark) chief executive Peter Shapiro. "The State and Local Leadership Project provides a progressive alternative, not just for 1982, but as a necessary part of our strategy for the long term," Mitchell declared in the Project's introductory brochure.

Booth had wanted to target candidates and races directly, but after some negative local reaction, changed the strategy to one of targeting states where electoral coalitions like LEAP and Illinois Public Action's CANPAC have already been formed and are backing local candidates. In 1982, the Project is assisting coalitions in at least Connecticut, Illinois, Montana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

The Project began training sessions for candidates and campaign workers last winter. This summer it will begin experimenting with a door-to-door canvass as a means not only of raising money for local campaigns, but also of acquainting voters with a key issue in their district and the candidates' stand on it. The canvass strategy recalls Martin Luther King's 1967 Vietnam summer, when college students went door-to-door organizing against the war.

Booth cites two examples of how the issue canvass could work. In 1980, the League of Conservation Voters canvassed the western suburbs of Philadelphia on behalf of embattled Rep. Bob Edgar (D-Pa.) Even in the midst of the Reagan landslide, Edgar was able to increase his winning margin tenfold over 1978. Edgar says that the canvass made the "winning difference."

In Cincinnati's 1981 city council race, OPIC used an issue canvass on a local "right-to-know" bill to force corporations to inform workers of hazardous substances in their workplace to assist Tom Brush's re-election campaign. According to OPIC, Brush's margin in the areas where the canvass was used increased by 50 percent from 1979.

Focusing on city council or state assembly races will make it difficult to alter the national debate on energy, defense or the economy, and Booth knows that. (Indeed, the new right focused on congressional and senatorial campaigns from the beginning for this very reason.) But she thinks there are distinct advantages to the local emphasis. "The local level is the

place where organization pays off," she said. "You don't need more than \$5,000 for many of the races. It is also the place where you can build a political leadership for the '90s."

BOOTH'S PROJECTS have always been controversial. In 1978, Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.) made a \$600,000 ACTION-VISTA grant to the Midwest Academy the basis for an attack on ACTION's funding. Current ACTION head Tom Pauken continues to harp on the Academy grant.

But as the reaction to Booth's electoral Project testifies, her ability to generate controversy has not been limited to the Republican right. One area of conflict has been with the socialist left. Booth has always enjoyed overtly friendly relations with the democratic socialist organizations such as NAM and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) that emerged in the '70s, but she has also preserved a certain distance between herself and these groups—refusing to join, for instance, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), which was formed in March when DSOC and NAM merged.

Booth is concerned about being red-baited by the right. But she also has pursued a different strategy than that pursued by the explicitly socialist organizations. She has emphasized that the left must be popularly based, even if that means sacrificing doctrinal purity, while they have emphasized the shared articulation of longterm goals, even at the expense of being able to organize among the greater public. Booth believes that by organizing popular coalitions around programs that stress economic democracy and justice, a genuine left will evolve. The explicit socialists believe that without explicit goals Booth's network will simply be absorbed by corporate-sponsored reform movements.

The debate has carried over into the reaction by some socialists to Booth's project. "Now a large part of the left has every illusion about electoral politics that they were accusing us of 10 years ago," DSA leader Jim Chapin remarked.

Booth's relation to community organizers has also been fraught with ambivalence. With ACORN, which has also embarked on an electoral strategy, the quarrel is as much over turf as over politics. With the Alinsky-inspired network of groups, led by Gail Cincotta and Shiel Trapp's National People's Action (NPA), the quarrel is more simply political.

The practitioners of Alinsky-style organizing have always looked askance at electoral participation, and they have therefore been critical of Booth's conversion. "Community organizers have historically stood outside the system and attacked it," NPA's Shiel Trapp explains.

Continued on page 22

By organizers are turning to electoral to consolidate their gains.

ram) to target state senate and assembly candidates in 1982. OPIC, a coalition of unions, community groups and senior citizen organizations, whose electoral involvement predated 1980, threw its weight behind a 1981 Cincinnati City Council race. In addition, OPIC members helped re-elect OPIC leader Jay Westbrook to Cleveland's City Council.

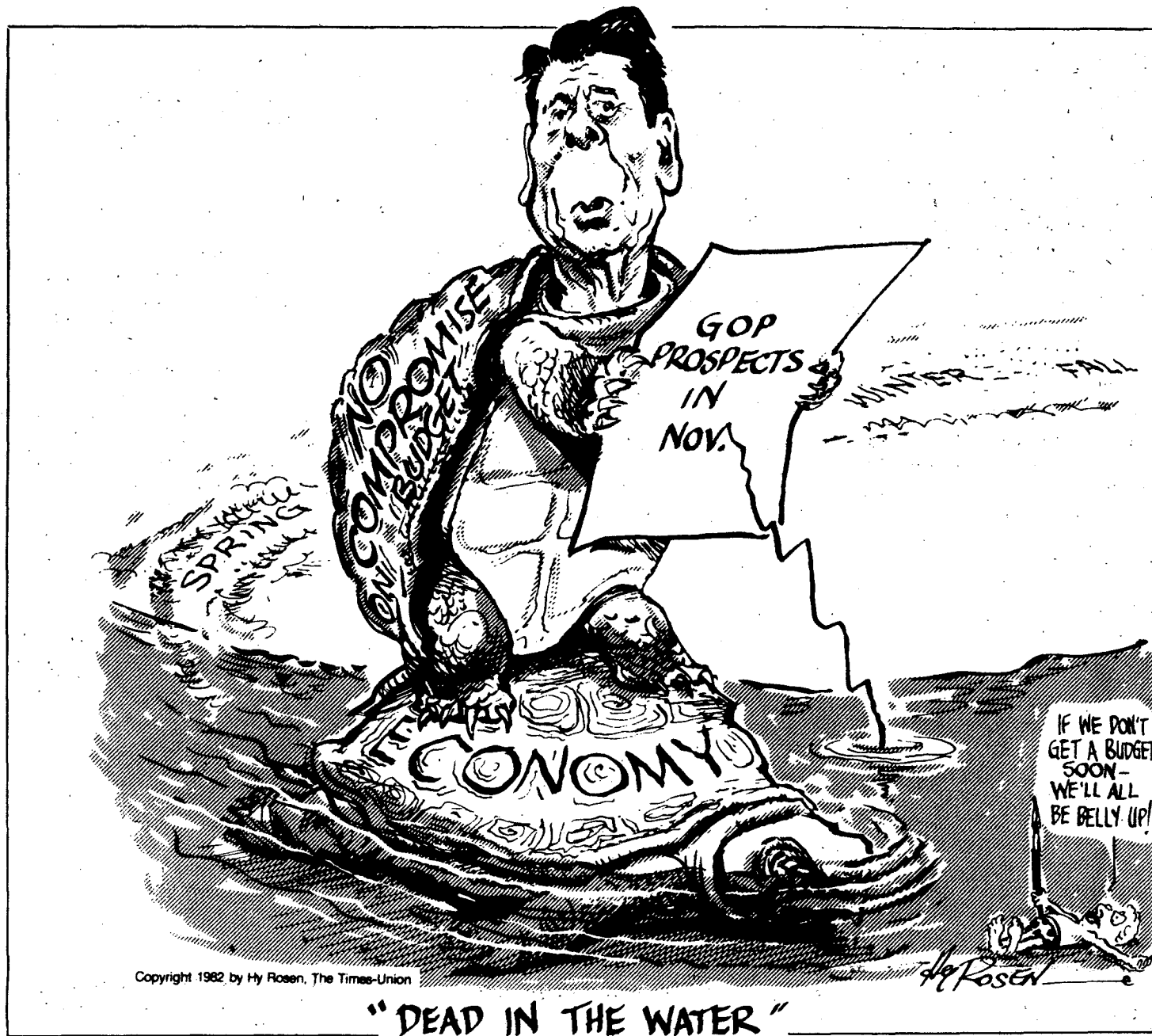
In the wake of the 1980 election, CLEC, which had devoted its resources to the October 1979 Big Oil Day demonstrations, adopted an electorally oriented strategy. Focusing on Reagan's promise to speed up the deregulation of natural gas, CLEC won the support of the AFL-CIO leadership to a carefully planned assault on about 60 pro-deregulation House members who represented potentially anti-deregulation districts.

The campaign paid off handsomely in heavily Democratic, recession-bound Toledo, Ohio, where a conservative Republican Ed Weber, pledged to deregulation, had upset liberal Democratic incumbent Thomas Ashley in November 1980. Beginning in February 1981, a

CLEC-organized coalition, Toledoans against High Natural Gas Prices, began pressuring Weber. Senior citizens started sitting in at his Toledo office, organizers went door-to-door visiting 30,000 households, and ministers called on their congregations to phone Weber's office every Monday to protest his stand on natural gas. A year later, Weber threw in the towel. He became one of the first Republicans to oppose any speedup in deregulation.

In 1981, Booth began meeting with Lee Webb, the director of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, OPIC's Arlook, former VISTA head Marge Tabankan, and Machinist Political Aide Marjorie Phyfe to draw up plans for the State and Local Leadership Project. In a memo, Booth compared the project's strategy to that of the new right: "Our strategy parallels the one that the right wing pursued starting in 1964. They had suffered a humiliating defeat when Goldwater lost his bid for the presidency. They realized they needed to rebuild for the long term. They went back to the

EDITORIAL



The search for a left way

The Cold War liberal consensus lasted 35 years—from 1945 to 1980. It disintegrated in the late '60s and the '70s under pressure from the anti-Vietnam War movement and competition from Western Europe, Japan and OPEC. And it came a cropper with Ronald Reagan's election in 1980.

Reagan's victory marked the exhaustion of corporate liberalism as a stable politics, but not the beginning of a new politics. Reaganism's two central thrusts are to redistribute American wealth from the poor to the rich—according to Reagan's bible, them that have shall get—and to return the United States to its short-lived predominance as a world power—to "make America great again." For ideologically conservative Reaganites that also means a return to many of the traditional social values and taboos of an obsolete society.

Reagan has already come close to accomplishing his first goal, but he has blustered and stumbled on all fronts with regard to the second. His success in stealing from the poor to give to the rich has cost him much of the support he initially had among working people. And his bellicose policy in Central America and his push to regain American nuclear superiority has aroused Americans, Europeans and Japanese in opposition to administration policy on an unprecedented scale. In two short years it has become strikingly clear that the 1980 mandate that Reagan likes to boast about was nothing more than a default judgment.

For those on the left—and by left we mean those on the half of the political spectrum from Teddy Kennedy through the socialist left—the question is how to develop a politics committed to the secu-

rity and welfare of the vast majority of working (and would-be working) Americans that is capable of winning and holding their support.

The first part is a question of program, or, more correctly, of principles and goals. The second is a question of strategy, of forums and organizations.

The right's fundamental principle for setting government policy is the primacy of corporate profitability—the promotion and nurturing of what they call free enterprise. Corporate liberals are among those on the right. For many years they helped stabilize the system by accommodating the demands of organized labor, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, environmentalists and consumer advocates within a consensus of support for corporate growth. And there are the Reaganites, who, seeing the disenchantment of these groups with the leaders of the Democratic Party in the late '70s, have seized the opportunity to take back much of what had been conceded.

For the left, both liberal and socialist, the first principle of government is to promote the welfare of the public, the vast majority of whom are working people or those seeking work. On immediate policy matters there is not always a clear line between corporate liberals and left liberals who do not question corporate capitalism as a social system but whose commitment to the principles of freedom and equality transcend their loyalty to corporate profitability. Similarly, there is not always a clear line between left liberals and socialists who believe in social control (which is to say democratic control) of investment decisions that affect the public. In the United States, which historically and structurally has a

two-party system, it is difficult to keep ideological lines neat and clean.

For the socialist left the American two-party system has posed a dilemma since the old Socialist Party's rapid growth came to an end around 1914. An effective left politics must put forth programs capable of winning support from the full range of the left and from the natural left constituencies (labor, blacks, women, etc.). But those constituencies have of necessity normally been constrained to operate politically where real short-term goals were attainable. Once it became apparent that the Socialist Party was not going to continue doubling its strength every four years, its credibility as a potential major party waned, and with it support from unions and other groups. Since that time, the natural left constituencies have looked to the major parties, usually the Democrats, for whatever gains they hope to make.

Coming to grips.

With a return to Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress likely either this year or in 1984, and with the election of a Democratic president likely next time out, the question facing everyone on the left is how to avoid a repetition of the past three decades. The Citizens Party answer is to attempt to create a third party as a way of pressuring the Democrats from the left while building up strength to the point where a direct challenge for power can be made. The Democratic Socialists of America's answer is to stick close to the left in the labor movement and to operate as socialists within the Democratic Party.

The Citizens Party's determination to build solid constituency support for its

program of social control of investment is admirable, and its accomplishments in Burlington, Vt., and several other places provide impressive evidence both of the Party members' deep commitment and of the potential for a popular new left politics. In small- and medium-sized cities and in non-partisan municipal and county elections, the Citizens Party has demonstrated the viability of an independent left politics, and there is every reason to believe that they will continue to grow and have other victories.

It is also true, as the Citizens Party argues, that a large percentage of eligible voters see nothing worth voting for in the Democratic Party as now constituted. The reason for this, as Citizens Party people point out, is that the Democratic Party is led and controlled nationally by people whose commitment to the principle of corporate profitability is as great as that of the Republicans.

Even so, it seems to us that the Citizens Party understanding of the two-party system is flawed. They see the Democrats as they see European parties in a parliamentary system—as an ideological party whose members are somehow subject to control by their nominal leaders. Or, to put it another way, they see the Democrats as they see themselves—as an ideologically unified organization with a coherent line. In fact, because the two major parties are established in law as a part of the state apparatus, membership is open to anyone who follows the legally established procedure for registration and it is open to anyone to contest for nomination for most, if not all, offices. No matter what Democratic Party chairman Charles Manatt or Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) may say, there is nothing to stop any group of people from running candidates on their own program in Democratic primaries, and nothing to stop those people if elected from using their office to further their own goals. And, in fact, though the Citizens Party acknowledges that none of its 17 candidates for the House can win this year, one of its members may be elected as a Democrat in Indiana's 7th Congressional District (*In These Times*, May 26). If that happens there is no reason to believe that he will be any less loyal to Citizens Party principles than his unelected comrades.

In comparing themselves implicitly—and sometimes explicitly—to DSA, Citizens Party members are on firmest ground when they point with pride to the constituencies they have won through their campaigns, both successful and unsuccessful, for office. Here, DSA remains weak because it continues the practice of 1976 and 1980 of being primarily concerned with presidential candidates and with attempting to influence the national platform. Michael Harrington reflected this orientation at the recent Democratic Agenda meeting in New Jersey (*In These Times*, May 26). "When presidential candidates come to talk to us," Harrington said, "let's not let them say, 'I love you, I won't lie to you.' Let's say, 'Here is our program, and where do you stand on it?'"

The problem with that is that Democratic, and even Republican presidential candidates have been known to say, "Yes, I support your program" before an election, and then to have a lapse of memory later. Indeed, major party presidents usually have one party for the election (the popular one) and another for governing (the corporate one). The only way to have a prayer of making views stick after the election is to have an independent constituency. And the only way to have that is to have winning candidates committed to your own program, preferably as members of your own organization.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ALLIGATOR MEETS HAIR SHIRT

I'VE A BONE TO PICK WITH DAVID Corn (*ITT*, May 12). First, I am a solid democratic socialist (and DSA member) as well as a supporter of *In These Times*. However, if "preppie clothes" and "yacht-club mannerisms" are inevitably the makings of conservatism and self-proclaimed superiority, as Corn suggests, I am in the wrong intellectual pew. Nor am I alone (and I exclude the odd limousine liberal, a species of suspect sincerity).

As to preppie clothes: There are dozens of little alligators in my closets. They wear like iron, and they look nice. Recognition of quality and the where-withal to pay for it are not exclusively conservative traits, nor do hair shirts guarantee socialist wisdom.

As to yacht-club mannerisms: Corn must have mistakenly been referring to "country-club mannerisms." I grew up hanging around East Coast yacht clubs. Real boat-people (not Sunday Sailors) tend to be capable, caring and handy to have around when the going gets rough.

Country clubbers, on the other hand, are widely known to possess the compassion of Marie Antoinette, the intellectual curiosity of a Burmese tree slug and in general are thought to be, by those in

the know, cultural equivalents of the hoop skirt.

Barring the above-discussed over-generalizations, I enjoyed Corn's piece. Now if you will excuse me, I must go harass the peasantry so I can get back in time for a drinkie-poo before din-din.

—Frank S. Duntze
Omaha, Neb.

BEYOND BELIEF

IT IS ABSOLUTELY BEYOND MY UNDERSTANDING how you inferred from my letter (*ITT*, May 19) that I view "anyone who has succeeded in gaining a position of leadership in a mainstream organization as hopelessly corrupt." For whatever importance it may have, that is not my position, nor (from what I can see) that of any but a handful of people within the Citizens Party. Clearly, people such as Paul Sarbanes at the national level or John Sweet and John Lewis at the local level are anything but corrupt; they are dedicated servants of the people.

Corruption was not the point. The point is that we "need to build strong constituency organizations based on consistent work in local communities and not dependent on media exposure and the vast sums of money required for media campaigns," in your words, but that when we put our energies into

the "gallery of stars" we find that building the constituency organizations gets swamped in the rush to get media exposure.

—Jim Coonan
Atlanta, Ga.

Editor's note: We are sorry to have misread Jim Coonan's letter, but it seemed to us to pose organizing constituencies against identification with leaders who have succeeded in gaining office, either in unions or government, to the detriment of the latter. Coonan wrote that our "measure of success merely substitutes the election of a 'gallery of stars' for DSOC's recruitment of a 'gallery of stars.'" He added that we aimed at "the leadership of purported key constituencies instead of organizing from the bottom up." But he misses the point that people like William Winpisinger of the Machinists, Rep. Ron Dellums and New York City Council member Ruth Messinger are "stars" because they have managed, even in the absence of a popular socialist movement, to build solid constituencies in support of their programs. They have, in other words, already done as individuals what Coonan aspires to do. If the Citizens Party in Atlanta succeeds in doing what Coonan suggests, it will then have its own stars. Are we to shun them too?

A PLAGUE ON BOTH

SHELDON RANZ (*ITT*, MAY 26) SHOULD really brush up on his ancient history. "Palestine" was not so named by the Romans; it means "Land of the Philistines," a people better known as the Philistines, contemporary with the Jews, and frequently engaged in war with them.

Whether the Philistines arrived in "Palestine" before the Jews or vice versa is an open question. What is not in question is that the Caananites were there before either of them; the "Land of Caanan" was ripped off by the Jews, under General Joshua, as recounted in the Book of Exodus. Subsequently, Palestine was occupied, in whole or in part, by Phoenecians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Turks.

All of which of course has nothing to do with the present right of Israel to existence, or of the Arab Palestinians to self-determination, or the nationalistic policies of the PLO and the Begin government, which to me look like two sides of the same coin: the PLO, at least in theory, is unwilling to recognize Israel's right to exist, while Begin, in practice, has shown no interest whatever in

the Arabs' right to self-determination.

The brutal fact that leftists have got to face up to is that Israeli nationalism and Palestinian nationalism are just as brutal and manipulative, when the chips are down, as U.S., Russian, German or any other kind of nationalism. Both operate on the principle of "Our Tribe Uber Alles": what "we" want is ordained by God, and the devil take anybody with competing claims.

I reserve my sympathy for the ordinary people, Jews and Arabs alike, who, as it always happens, will end up paying the bloody price for their leaders' machismo and personal ambition.

—Robert Claiborne
Truro, Mass.

UNPRINCIPLED

I OFFER AN UNSOLICITED POSTSCRIPT to Pat Aufderheide's recommendation (which I endorse) of an article in *Past & Present* #94 on the Vietnamese revolution (*ITT*, May 5). The article points out that the Vietnamese communists gained popular support by defending certain aspects of traditional culture against imperialist modernization. But the author fails to note a weakness in their approach: Recalling the popular-front communists' attitude toward bourgeois democracy, the Vietnamese revolutionaries saw their accommodation with traditional culture as merely a useful tactic, not a matter of principle. In both cases the revolutionaries sought to forget the past, rather than critically re-member it.

—Norton Wheeler
Sioux City, Iowa

Pat Aufderheide replies: My short review perhaps did Hunt's article an injustice. His article does, however, acknowledge the irony of the revolutionaries' becoming (by contrast with the South Vietnamese government) the defenders of tradition during the war.

CORRECTION

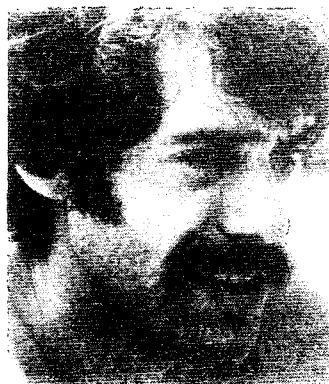
The Livermore Action Group is sponsoring a demonstration against nuclear weapons on June 21 at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory at Livermore, Calif. Interested persons can contact the Group at 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705. Telephone (415) 644-3031.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

"The most exciting book I have read in years." —RENÉ DUBOS

"... deserves to be read by everybody; it will make you CARE." —CLAUDE BROWN

TO BECOME SOMEBODY



Growing Up Against the Grain of Society

John B. Simon
Foreword by ROBERT COLES

Recounting his eleven years in Manhattan working with black and Hispanic youth in trouble, and balancing his experience and judgment with those of adults and youngsters with

whom he has worked, Simon offers a fresh perspective on a generation of ambitious children forced, by poverty and racism, to live lives that conform to society's notion of their limitations rather than to their individual talents. *To Become Somebody* suggests ways to help young people overcome their very real alienation and move toward happy and productive adulthood.

"A mammoth American example." —LOS ANGELES TIMES

"Simon's book is a reminder that there are people willing to take the first steps to make an educational revolution happen." —WASHINGTON POST

"... a wonderful and inspiring book about the importance of young life for the future of our society." —HERBERT KOHL

\$12.95, now at your bookstore, or write to
Houghton Mifflin Company
2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02107

Subscribe to
IN THESE TIMES

- ☐ YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** If at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.
- ☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.
- ☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.

- ☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622



"Defeating Reaganism will take solid organizing and hard political thinking. With its incisive reporting and thoughtful analysis, *In These Times* provides valuable ammunition in this fight for civil rights and economic justice."

Rep. Harold Washington

PERSPECTIVES

Soviet dissidents: down but not out

By Louis Menashe

LAST SEPTEMBER, THE First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB) announced the triumph of vigilance over the dissidents. The late General Semyon K. Tsvigun identified dissidents with "anti-social" and "anti-Soviet" elements who, with "considerable material and moral support" from the West, were embarked "on a course of active confrontation with the Soviet regime...in an organized campaign against the socialist system." Thanks to KGB's efforts—carried out, Gen. Tsvigun declared with a straight face, "in strict accordance with the law"—these elements have been exposed and throttled.

There is a good deal of truth in the General's boast. Two decades ago the "dissident movement" added flavor to the Khrushchev era with *samizdat* ("self-published") journals and public readings in Moscow's Mayakovsky Square. One thing led to another; literary experimentation jostled with political assertiveness and the authorities frowned on both. "Dissident" and "movement" were never entirely accurate terms. Many new voices claimed, for example, that they were openly articulating what the majority felt but was too frightened to express; others argued that they acted completely within the ideals and spirit, if not the reality, of Soviet institutions. As for "movement"—there was never the programmatic coherence and organizational unity to call it that. Whatever the description, something fresh, youthful, robust and

on) *samizdat* gazette of news you won't find in *Pravda*; Valdimir Bukovsky, the imaginative free-thinker whose own experiences prompted him to bring to world attention the foul Soviet practice of psychiatric detention for dissidents.

As with literary activity, one might safely say that the most exciting and substantial political discussions and polemics about the Soviet past, present and future published in Russian now appear in the West and not in the USSR. (Russians call this kind of writing *tamizdat*—"published over there.")

Many dissidents of more recent vintage are experiencing various forms of lock-up inside the USSR. Nobel Laureate (for Peace) Andrei Sakharov, whose moral concerns about his own role in developing Soviet thermonuclear weapons led him into the dissident camp, is now under house arrest in Gorky, whither he was escorted by the KGB in 1980. The physicist Yuri Orlov, a leader of the Human Rights movement in the USSR, was arrested, put on trial, and sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and five years (internal) exile in 1978. In early April of this year, the young engineer Ivan Kovalyov, a member of Orlov's "Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR" was given five and five (labor camp-internal exile). Of this Helsinki Watch Group only three members remain free; ten have been arrested and imprisoned, seven exiled or forced to emigrate and one is dead.

This is not a very comforting picture for those, inside the USSR and abroad, who hoped for greater breathing space for political and other forms of dissent in the Brezhnev epoch, a period marked by such pressures for relaxation as detente,

orities. We have shown that one can say and write whatever one wants. For that, many of us have landed in jail, but people have begun to speak more freely and are no longer so persecuted even for publishing abroad. Could we have predicted this 15 years ago?"

Chalidze also points out that although members of dissident groups may be persecuted, "the deed of establishing the association itself" is not barred—"the authorities have for all practical purposes recognized the right to do so." This may be small compensation for a dissident sentenced to shovel manure east of the Urals, but "the process has begun and can no longer be stopped...one must be patient," counsels Chalidze, for "the struggle for the transformation of Russia will take a long time."

Another development worth watching is the tremendous ideological and cultural variety that exists beneath the surface conformities of Soviet life. Gen. Tsvigun sounded the alarm about this development and called it a new front in the anti-Soviet campaign directed from abroad. Singled out by Gen. Tsvigun were "imperialist special services," nationalist and "reactionary Islamic organizations" as well as "Zionist centers"; even the Church of the Prophet and the Krishna Consciousness Society were cited for their attempts to "establish religious-mystical groups in our country."

Like security agencies everywhere, the KGB will naturally proclaim its splendid work and just as naturally claim more work needs to be done. That justifies large budgets. But given the extremely narrow boundaries Soviet authorities impose on what is publicly permissible, there is ample cause for KGB concern. "Various categories of Soviet young people," wrote Gen. Tsvigun, may be attracted by "allegations" about the need to "improve and democratize the Soviet model of socialism." Groups of young men and women are enthusiastic about "pop music" and "the Western way of life." They are susceptible to the idea of forming "anti-social elements into various 'unions,' 'societies,' 'clubs,' 'theaters' and 'seminars' as a counterbalance to existing public associations and organizations of the working people."

The real wonder of such activity is not its existence—this is, after all, the last quarter of the 20th century in a modernized, post-

Special Psychiatric Hospital in Dnepropetrovsk. Similar punishments were meted out to many of Klebanov's associates and to members of a successor group in Moscow, the "Free Interprofessional Association of Workers."

What explains the absence of popular resonance to Soviet dissent of working-class or intelligentsia origins? Soviet workers are not happier and better off than their Czechoslovak or Polish opposites. If anything, they are in worse shape. But there has been little popular sympathy for Solidarity in the USSR; the customary reaction is, "What are the Poles complaining about—don't they have it better than us, and at our expense?" By most Western and some Eastern European standards a majority of Soviet workers live in poverty. Moreover, "mass dissatisfaction with their economic situation," observes Chalidze, is laced with "a feeling that their human dignity has been degraded, a feeling reinforced by Soviet newspaper articles representing the workers as masters of the country."

An organic political relationship between workers and intellectuals, such as exists in Poland, is still missing in the USSR. Workers and intellectuals conceive of themselves as belonging to different universes and are even suspicious of one another. As a whole, the dissident movement, resting on a narrow social base of the scientific and cultural intelligentsia, has never addressed—or has not been able to address—the needs of Soviet working people. As one anonymous Soviet observer put it a few years ago, "The very logic of events has compelled the human rights movement to become preoccupied with the struggle for the release of its suffering fellow members....Our dissidents, who are so wrapped up in their struggle for human rights, hardly notice [economic and social] problems....The struggle for human rights will succeed only if those who think differently will broaden their concerns from the problems of persecution of dissenters alone to the life and rights of the worker from Tula, the collective farmer from Vologodchina, the librarian from Tetiuska and the student from the trade school in Podolsk...."

It is hard to generalize about the political forms disaffection might take among the Soviet working masses. For the present, they do not support the dissidents. A strong sense of Soviet patriotism operates, a complex mixture of Holy Mother Russia and pride in Socialist achievement, which views dissent as alien and unpatriotic. In its uglier forms, this surfaces as anti-Semitic scapegoating, which the authorities often manipulate to their advantage. When the protesters unfurled their banners in Red Square in 1968 to condemn the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, KGB agents in plainclothes pounced on them shouting: "They're all Jews! Beat up the anti-Soviets!"

Such attitudes have produced a sense of despair on the part of many dissidents—an unreasonable despair, I think, if one is prepared to take a longer view of the processes of change in the USSR. Eduard Kuznetsov, whose experiences as a dissident led him to Zionism, became convinced of the uselessness of political struggle; the Soviet system, he concluded, is "immutable....the particular political culture of the Russian people may be classed as despotic....the Soviet regime...fully answers the heartfelt wishes of a significant part of its population"—among whom Kuznetsov saw "endemic" signs of anti-Semitism.

Another alarming trend, noticed by many observers, is a popular lacquering of the Soviet past, expressed as nostalgia for Stalin. It has produced a Soviet version of a "New Right," not quite as well defined or organized as its American analog, but the result of parallel pressures. The post-Stalin epoch in the USSR has witnessed moral malaise, widespread cynicism, generational conflict, rising divorce rates, hard drinking and other assorted anomies of industrialization and urbanization. By contrast, life in the past, though harsh, was simpler, goals were clearer and values stronger. One particularly lurid, and—one hopes—fringe man-

Continued on page 23



Der Spiegel

A Soviet dissident being arrested in Moscow's Red Square this year.

full of promise was afoot. Scores of men and women were mustering the energy to widen and deepen cracks in the Soviet political glacier.

But over the last two decades the original activists and their descendents have been bullied, put on trial, jailed, exiled or thrown into psychiatric custody. A whole pleiad of dissident Soviet writers now reside in the West. Many literary critics claim that the best Russian writing emanates from Paris and New York. (And Cavendish, Vermont, where the towering figure of Solzhenitsyn toils at publicizing the glories of Old Russia and uncovering the roots of Gulag.)

Abroad, too, are many of the movement's founders, among them: Valery Chalidze, one of the pioneers in the attempt to apply Soviet laws against the lawlessness of Soviet authorities; Natalia Gorbanevskaya, among the brave bunch of eight who unfurled banners in Red Square protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and who edited the original *Chronicle of Current Events*, the remarkable off-again, on-again (now

Soviet participation in the Helsinki accords and the critiques of Eurocommunism. Yet, the good tidings Gen. Tsvigun brought to readers of *Kommunist*, the Soviet Communist Party's ideological journal, also represent so much whistling in the dark. Dissent and dissidence are here to stay. Petitions, open letters, human rights watch committees, public demonstrations and even acts of civil disobedience, modeled on those introduced into the movement by Jews seeking emigration, have become regular, almost institutionalized strategies. They are as much a part of the Soviet scene as the work of the KGB. Barring some cataclysmic international development, such political ferment will continue and, in all probability, increase.

For one thing, the dissidents have broken the state monopoly on information, on defining legality and on the right of association. "We showed people," writes Chalidze, who now publishes Russian and English language journals and books in New York, "that they can exercise their rights without asking the auth-

Stalinist society, but its relative smallness of scale and slow, arduous progress.

In Czechoslovakia an internal party displacement of Stalinists electrified the whole system and rapidly generated the reform program of the Prague Spring. In the USSR, de-Stalinization proceeded by carefully measured steps, fizzled out, and has been, under Brezhnev, partially rolled back. In Poland, periodic worker protests over mainly economic issues finally erupted into a movement of national transformation spearheaded by a 10 million-strong *Solidarity* labor union. In the USSR, attempting to form an independent labor organization has been futile. Anyone trying it ought to have his head examined—and will. Late in 1977, Vladimir Klebanov, a Ukrainian coal miner, helped originate the "Free Trade Union Association of Workers in the Soviet Union" offering membership and assistance to "any blue- or white-collar worker whose rights and interests are being unlawfully infringed by administrative, Soviet, Party, or juridical organs." Since 1978 Klebanov has been confined to the

PERSPECTIVES

Elections and the left in the '80s

By Hal Baron & John Kretzmann

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL system is in a state of disarray. The two major parties, having been reduced to image machines, could bring only half of the eligible voters to the polls in the last presidential election, and for two decades no president has been able to finish two terms in office. A stubbornly inflexible and increasingly inept Reagan administration gives every promise of continuing this trend. The administration is sure to take its lumps in the congressional elections in November as Americans reject Reaganomics and the new bellicosity in Washington.

The nature of the crisis.

The instability of the American system goes far beyond being simply political. A series of crises involving both the economy and the empire reinforce each other. In the economy we face the most serious recession since the Great Depression of the '30s. Official unemployment is approaching 10 percent and plant utilization is down to 71 percent of capacity. The intensity of this downturn reflects a decade of declining growth rates, domestically and globally.

Internationally, the Reagan administration has attempted to revive the unilateral Pax Americana of the early phases of the Cold War. Resistance both at home and abroad has been strong. One result has been the appearance of cracks in the Cold War consensus within the U.S., a rapid development exemplified both by the wide and varied support for the nuclear freeze campaign and by the Catholic challenge and popular opposition to the Reagan policy on El Salvador.

Like the New Deal era, when the depression threw the system off balance, the present predicament might well make people willing to try new approaches. But the solutions of the '30s that paved the way to our present advanced corporate system, will no longer suffice. The current political impasse has one of its roots in the breakdown of the depression-born Keynesian arrangement for government management of employment.

That arrangement, of course, has been accompanied by an implied bargain between capital and labor for political peace in exchange for increasing wages and benefits. When this arrangement worked, the large corporations' political representatives could moderate conflicts through economic concessions. This strategy, however, depended on continuous growth. Now that this is no longer possible, the nation is faced more directly with questions of power, class and justice.

How does this general analysis translate into new possibilities for left political action? We should start by recognizing that for the last two decades the groups to which the left looks as its constituencies have not had much success in the electoral arena. Labor's influence with officeholders has declined dramatically. The gains made by blacks and the vetoes exercised by peace groups were accomplished largely through mobilizations in which the ballot box played a secondary role. Victories that the left has won or assisted in have not created a well institutionalized base, in or out of the electoral framework.

But a move toward electoral activity makes sense now because the joint crises of empire and the economy are so clearly reflected in the breakdown in the state apparatus (huge public bureaucra-

cies beset by chronic inflation and mammoth budgetary deficits) and in the weakening of the two major parties. In fact, it may be that only in the last few months did the political crisis become acute enough to open up a large space for oppositional activity. First the Carter Democrats had to be discredited, at least partially, by rightist populism. Then the Reagan Republicans had to lose credence through the unworkability of their economic and nuclear policies.

Political scientists recently have written about "critical elections" such as 1860, 1896 and 1932, which have signaled general realignments of political forces and parties. Whether the current crisis will lead to such a critical election two years or 10 years from now is not predictable, but unless the left becomes involved now, it will not have much influence on the alternatives considered when a realignment does occur. What the left needs now is to discover how much space it has to operate. It can do that only by direct involvement, by probing and testing.

A left electoral strategy will have significant consequences only if it is grounded in a broad alternative politics. Recent history argues convincingly that by itself electing people to office can end up displaying the syndrome of officeholder as an issue broker, of political platform as a collection of minor adjustments in the status quo. A broader left politics should center on constituency development and the restructuring of economic and political power.

When we are talking of politics, then, we are talking of a broadly defined process of mobilizing popular constituencies and institutionalizing their political capacities. For the foreseeable future, at any rate, elections should still be considered the extension of politics by other means. But the conditions of electoral politics now offer a unique opportunity to accelerate this broader agenda.

What is being done?

A quick review of electoral coverage over the last six months in left and liberal journals, including *In These Times*, reveals a couple of patterns. (Electoral coverage as a whole was generally skimpy; various journals tended to agree in their judgment of what candidacies and races were deserving of attention and elections tended to be reported and analyzed in a very localized context.)

Scattered victories in municipal elections constituted the greatest amount of recent attention. From Burlington to Brooklyn to Berkeley, from San Antonio to Santa Monica, some successes have been chalked up at the local level. In some of the instances, the victors were left candidates; in others, a broadly construed left influenced the campaigns. Most of these candidacies have provided an additional focus for already highly mobilized constituencies, for groups already organized around issues like rent control and investment and development policies.

The second major category of election-related coverage spotlighted the activities of state-wide groups such as New Jersey's Public Interest Action Council, Connecticut's Citizen Action Group, Illinois' Public Action Council, etc. It is estimated that fully half the states now have such organizations, multi-issue coalitions whose various pressure-building and lobbying activities have led, in at least some cases, to the support of candidates in various local, state and congressional races.

These phenomena taken together fall far short of pointing to a popular groundswell in electoral activity. But they do indicate that new possibilities are being

The U.S. may soon be facing a "critical election" like those of 1860 or 1932. It is essential for the left to start preparing now.

tested, and that the fall elections will offer still more opportunities for such probing. It may be helpful for the advancement of that process to begin listing criteria for judging and evaluating our electoral efforts. Partly in the hope of inviting further reports and discussion, we assert that the most promising candidacies have the following characteristics:

1. They grow out of already organized interest groups—labor, third world, feminist, community, etc., and reach out to make politics relevant to constituencies that have shown little interest in elections. Such candidacies must reactivate political possibilities for those vast numbers who find the alternatives presented at the polls irrelevant to their needs and interests. We have to recognize, as Walter Dean Burnham puts it, "that our whole electoral politics rests upon a huge and growing political vacuum at the bottom of the social structure."

2. They build in structures of accountability to these constituencies, both during the campaign and after the election. Candidates who are perceived as accountable advocates and spokespersons may avoid at least the worst aspects of personality-dominated campaigning and office

holding, while at the same time further catalyzing organizing efforts that reach beyond elections.

3. They articulate issues in a political language that helps people think of issues as community and constituency defined, rather than being individualistic. Further, the language should emphasize the interconnectedness of issues. There are strong indications that people are ready for this as growing numbers are receptive to an understanding of the links between empire and economy, military spending and domestic priorities.

4. They avoid traditional liberal panaceas, especially the reliance on the "magic of growth" or on the "fix of the technical expert" to solve problems. The emerging politics should emphasize that the development of standards of fairness and justice is something that citizens ought to do. Candidacies that emphasize the capacities of ordinary citizens, operating in concert, to protest, plan and act seem called for.

In summary, then, our criteria emphasize constituency mobilization and the presentation of programmatic alternatives. At this stage, the questions regarding Democratic versus third party candidacies and the avowal of socialism are tactical to be decided according to local circumstances.

Surely there are additional criteria, as well as better ways to state these. Our attempt is meant to open up questions rather than state answers. We hope that others who are actively trying out new political possibilities will enter their own. In the meantime, we are convinced that sharing reports and analyses of promising electoral efforts could benefit all of us concerned with building a democratic left.

John Kretzmann teaches at Associated Colleges of the Midwest, Urban Studies of the Midwest. Hal Baron formerly worked with Kretzmann and is now completing a study of racism under advanced capitalism.

The Voices of Black and Progressive Americans Must Be Heard

But they won't be without your help.

The concerns of Blacks and many other Americans will not be heard until they have a political voice. That's why we formed the Parker-Coltrane Political Action Committee.

Our goal is to open up America's political process. Parker-Coltrane's initial efforts will focus on recruiting, training and funding Black and progressive candidates in the southern states. Money will also be targeted for staff training, voter registration and issue-development projects.

Last year, millions of dollars were spent to defeat Black and other progressive candidates. This time—with your help—we're going to win.

Advisory Council in formation: Shirley Chisholm, John Conyers, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Ron Dellums, Don Edwards, W.H. Ferry, John Kenneth Galbraith, William H. Gray III, Bertram Gross, Johnny Hartman, Aaron Henry, Rosa Parks, Charles B. Rangel, Stanley Sheinbaum, Dorothy Steffins, Marc Stepp, Morris K. Udall, Sarah Vaughan, Cora Weiss, Joe Williams, Nancy Wilson, Coleman Young.

Yes, I want to support the Parker-Coltrane PAC.

Name _____
Residence _____
Telephone _____
Employer _____

Make checks payable to:
Parker-Coltrane Political Action Committee
P.O. Box 50523
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 783-6645

(The Federal Election Commission requires this information. A copy of our report is on file.)

INPRINT

ECONOMICS

A working model for socialism

The Political Economy of Socialism: A Marxist Social TheoryBy Branko Horvat
M.E. Sharp, 671 pp., \$35.00

By Stephen C. Smith

A 19th century music critic termed Brahms' First Symphony not the first, but, in an allusion to Beethoven, the tenth. Horvat would similarly like to have his newest volume viewed as the "fourth."

But while *The Political Economy of Socialism* doesn't quite compare with the three volumes of Marx's *Capital*, it does stand as a monument in socialist analysis and quite possibly the best and most comprehensive book yet written on workers' self-management.

This book represents Horvat's life work. Horvat has earned a reputation in the West for his scholarly books and articles on self-management and economic growth and development, and for his top planning position in the Yugoslav government. And although Horvat has tried to take on too much, this work is a creative and powerful synthesis of socialist thinking and practice.

After a brief survey of some basic points in Marxist and neo-Marxist criticism, Horvat critiques Soviet-style systems. Taking words out of the horses' mouths, Horvat provides a clever analysis of "religious" aspects of Soviet society, and other reasons for the triumph of "etatism" over socialism in the Soviet bloc. He considers etatism a new mode of production where surplus labor is extracted by a state elite on the basis of state property.

Next, he analyzes social stratification under capitalism and etatism. His application of the concepts of alienation and reification to etatism and late capitalism are insightful, particularly his analysis of office-holding fetishism under bureaucracies.

Horvat's 65-page history of the socialist movement provides a window on Yugoslavia's self-perceived place in that history, and there are some surprises. Horvat describes Yugoslavia's self-management institutions as essentially Proudhonist (although, he says, they had to rediscover Proudhon's ideas), and he acknowledges a debt to the ideas of the anarchists. As we might expect, Horvat lists as most influential the writings of Marx on the Paris Commune. Horvat sees workers' councils as one of the natural aspects of socialist revolution, and points out that they have been an integral part of both successful and unsuccessful workers' revolts.

The author then compares the organization and efficiency of capitalism, etatism and workers' self-management (which he simply calls socialism). He takes Yugoslavia as the "closest approximation" for the latter, stressing that socialism as he conceives it exists nowhere in the world.



Horvat's model of worker self-management is drawn in part from Yugoslavian experience.

Horvat concentrates on Yugoslav economic performance during the '50s and '60s when it was impressive, but unfortunately omits an analysis of the past few disappointing years.

Do it yourself.

In one of the best parts of the book, Horvat devotes 150 pages to the "design" of "self-governing socialism," ranging from minutiae of factory-level decision-making through macroeconomic policy. He presents an excellent section on the nature of social property, as well as analyses of taxation, income distribution and indicative planning.

Horvat's discussion of political process is particularly interesting. He envisions major extensions of conventional Western notions of human rights and representative democracy. For example, he proposes a six-way, rather than a three-way, separation of powers, dividing the executive branch in two (long-term and day-to-day implementation) and adding a civil service recruiter and ombudsman. Horvat stresses participatory democracy, with the level of participation freely chosen on the basis of intensity of involvement with a problem. He urges that all political parties be banned and replaced with overlapping interest groups. (For some obscure reason, when listing feminist groups as an example, Horvat also suggests "masculinist" groups.)

Horvat describes an idealized model of socialism, of which he earlier labels Yugoslavia an "approximation." But we never hear a word about the Yugoslav

Communist Party or its role, although we do get some hints when Horvat discusses less developed countries. Unfortunately, the latter discussion begs as many questions as it answers.

The last part of the book is de-

voted to a detailed discussion of transition strategies for capitalist, etatist and less developed societies. For developed capitalist societies, Horvat advocates working for electoral victory of self-management-oriented so-

A left savior for capitalism?

Greed Is Not Enough:**Reaganomics**By Robert Lekachman
Pantheon Books, 213 pp., \$13.50

By Bertram Gross

In the '30s, when "late capitalism" seemed threatened by the Great Depression, a group of ardent New Dealer economists rallied around a program for "Saving American Capitalism."

For their boldness in pushing measures to bolster the market for private output, they were promptly branded "left wingers" and "closet socialists." Nonetheless the system was saved—but not by economists alone. Salvation came out of the gun barrels of World War II and later by the building of a "free world" imperial market.

Now, as a later capitalism is in trouble throughout the "free world," along comes Robert Lekachman flinging the closet door open and proudly advocating democratic socialism through a "revival on the left." With

enough undismal good humor to prove that he is more than a mere economist, Lekachman smites hip and thigh the contending advisers in the Reaganite stable—the monetarist freaks, the old-fashioned budget-balancers and the deficit-boosting "supply siders."

In seven insightful and inciting chapters, he makes it clear that the people beside, under, behind or above Reagan do not seek unemployment, lower wages, tight money, reduced social security and weakened unions only for their own sake. These are mainly the unpleasant side effects, or means, of sincere efforts to enlarge the wealth and power of the most powerful and wealthiest. They are also measures that undermine the mass purchasing power on which capitalist profitability (outside of armaments and other public works) depends. Resort must therefore be made to some kind of authoritarianism (or friendly fascism)—whether it be called "garrison state," "national security state"

cialist parties, gradually implementing socialization of capital and worker control, along the lines of the Swedish Meidner plan, elaborated and borrowing from many sources. This would involve reinvestment of profits (as labor-controlled capital) over a long but definite period.

Horvat argues, drawing on authors from Marx to Maslow, that violent revolutions are most unlikely in developed capitalist countries, and that at the same time the potential for socialism is stronger there than anywhere else. Horvat neglects to mention that planning and Meidner-type proposals are complicated by the presence of multinational corporations.

For etatist countries Horvat advocates Solidarity-type pushes toward participation, which, coupled with dissident activity, might eventually produce political democratization. He is considerably less optimistic than about the West.

For less developed countries, Horvat advocates a Leninist-type approach, despite his earlier bitter attack on these policies as self-defeating. This is close to Yugoslavia's political line, forming an ideological justification for tight political control by the Yugoslav Communist Party. Perhaps Horvat has written this section to give himself political maneuvering room elsewhere in the book.

The strategies for moving toward economic democracy in less developed countries are stronger, but presuppose an enlightened leadership, a highly organized working class, or both. However, the argument provides a sophisticated analysis of the interwoven development of economic change and social consciousness. Again, the fact that multinational corporations are not even discussed is a serious flaw, but one not fatal to Horvat's good ideas.

Horvat has made economic and social analysis accessible to educated lay people without losing critical depth.

Stephen C. Smith is a graduate student in economics at Cornell University.

or the "corporatism" advocated by Felix Rohatyn and other less vocal but more powerful activists in higher business circles.

To help avoid this unclear but present danger, Lekachman pulls together major threads in left-wing thinking: "a minimum of democratic planning, public control of investment, achievement of consensus about the division of national product between owners and workers, and special labor market solutions for young workers and older ones displaced by the decline of older industries and regions." Without getting bogged down in economist detail or erudite semantics, he raises from the ground the soiled banner of full employment. He calls for "equitable inflation control." Without plunging overboard into parochial localism or "only small is beautiful" romanticism, he advocates a mixture of "central direction and local control." He supports "communal, cooperative and union-based endeavors" and "the financing of small, decentralized enterprises as well as large national projects."

Lekachman's left agenda goes far beyond Democratic Party legacies from the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and Great Society. It breaks away from liberal Keynesianism, cold war growthmanship and limousine liberalism. It calls for some re-

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



TELEVISION

Speer and sentiment

By Hans Koning

A quartet of neat and sweet looking children is giving a family concert of German chamber music. Parents and grandparents are listening raptly. The telephone rings. Father answers. He puts his coat on. "It's important, I have to go," he tells his wife. "This is important too," she answers miserably, pointing at the children sawing away on their cellos and violins. The front door closes behind him all the same. She exchanges a long look of tortured understanding with her father-in-law.

What is this television cameo about? A wayward married man off once more to see his girlfriend in spite of his promises? No, it's Albert Speer answering a phone call to go and see his Fuehrer, in the middle of World

War II.

The scene is par for the course of the ABC-TV special *Inside the Third Reich*, screened first, in two parts, May 9 and 10 and scheduled to repeat, and advertised as "The true story of Albert Speer." Hitler's architect and later minister of munitions was condemned at Nuremberg to 20 years for his key role in the employment and extinction of slave labor in the German war industries. He spent much of his prison time and the years thereafter until his death in 1981 on writing memoirs which became, as the media lingo has it, "best-selling," and which are the basis of this series.

The series, written and produced by E. Jack Neuman, is a superb example of the trivialization and personalization of history that has become the hallmark of mass media. Great

events are forced into the pattern of pseudo-realistic, banal dramas of daily life, in which we then supposedly recognize ourselves.

The rise and fall of Hitler's Germany is, so far, the great drama of this century. The media, though, persistently ignore two essential elements that make dramatization more difficult but also more interesting. First, the foreign policy of the Third Reich was not basically different from that of the Second Reich, the Empire of Kaiser Wilhelm. The *Drang nach Osten*, Germany's manifest destiny to subjugate the Slavs, was as accepted by Chancellor Von Bethmann Hollweg in 1914 as by Hitler and Heydrich in 1939. Second, anti-Semitism was not the basic, inherent crime of that empire. One can imagine a Nazism in which the Jews of the Western nations and Ger-

democratic wing of the Democratic Party or the still larger number of people eager to tame the business cycle. Similarly, drug addicts and alcoholics often lash out against friends or therapists trying to save them from self-destruction. By encouraging the self-indulgent greed of the truly rich, Reaganomics encourages this tendency. It will therefore create new crises in the life not only of the poor, the unemployed, the underemployed and the huge white-and-blue working class but also of banking and industrial dinosaurs.

In Europe it takes no heroism to wrap a program of reforming capitalism in socialist clothing. Since the days when Bismarck let LaSalle out of prison and used LaSalle's socialism as the inspiration for Germany's welfare state, socialism has always been on the agenda. Above all, it has been made respectable by strong Communist parties and ultra-left revolutionaries who confer respectability on official Communist parties.

In the U.S., the bastion of a purer capitalism unsullied by past centuries of feudalism, these political requirements for structural reform of the system do not—at least as yet—exist. Salvation in the future is more likely to come from the arms race (which bolsters part of the system while weakening others), ef-

many were accepted as "honorary Aryans" and the Jews of Poland and Russia were seen as Poles and Russians. Jews were number one on the extinction list in terms of proportion to total population, but Gypsies (one million of them killed) were number two. Poles (five million killed) number three. Russians were four, Czechs five and the members of such chosen races as the Dutch and the Norwegians, once they had shown themselves unwilling and unworthy, came six and seven.

The inherent crime of the Third Reich was war, a war that killed at least 35 million people and left us with rockets, atom bombs and the basic confrontation of the U.S. and the USSR.

The two points are crucial in showing a life of Speer. Point one means that the Third Reich, at least until the attack on Russia had bogged down for good and the RAF started its mass raids, was a seemingly orderly state. There was no glaring discontinuity with the past. The middle and upper classes lived well, the wartime shortages taken care of by the plunder of Europe, the concentration and extermination camps tucked out of sight. Every letter written by a German in those years was signed, "With German Greetings, Heil Hitler," although those same millions felt they showed their independence of spirit with after-dinner jokes about Goering and Goebbels. A handful of underground heroes

By ignoring history, this TV special misses the drama too.

forts to maintain "free world" hegemony and creeping corporatism—not from a DSA that might present serious candidates of its own in presidential or senatorial elections.

Under these circumstances American socialists, knowing that they cannot talk much heroic socialism in organizing red-white-and-blue community people or workers, may some day come out in the open on their willingness to reform, even manage, capitalism. This does not require hiding behind some semantic smokescreen. Rather it requires a recognition of dialectical complexity—particularly the probability that a temporarily successful reform movement might lengthen the system's life expectancy or spark counter-reformist reaction along the lines of friendly or unfriendly authoritarianism—or help provide new sinews for whatever coalition of power is needed for the perilous transition to some new form of socialism. Lekachman, I am sure, would accept this challenge.

Bertram Gross, who teaches urban planning at Hunter College, is the author of Friendly Fascism (forthcoming in paperback by South End Press). He is preparing, with John Conyers and others, locally-based full employment legislation.

and heroines were hunted and hanged, but there was no confrontation within.

So a realistic show of life in the Germany of that time would not be visibly all that different from life under the Kaiser or from life in other middle-European countries, and somebody who made good in it, as Speer did, would be envied and applauded rather than frowned upon by friends and parents. It is a reality very unlike our media cliché of a bunch of raving maniacs who bent millions of nice Germans to their wills, a cliché the writer-producer of this series has eagerly embraced.

The second point means that the criminality of the Third Reich must be demonstrated by showing that it was aiming for war. It wasn't doing things that might make war inevitable. It wanted war. To translate this into images on a screen is more difficult than to show SA-men painting swastikas on the windows of Jewish shops. E. Jack Neuman stuck with such well-known scenes of anti-Semitism rampant. But showing us that Speer did not participate is not showing us that he was no real "Nazi" (a word that was not in German usage in those days, contrary to the film). It simply shows that he wasn't an unemployed redneck who might have enjoyed such activities.

With Speer neither a raving maniac nor a nice German, Neuman had a hard time finding daily dramatic conflict. He tried to solve his problem by such phony confrontations as a nurse berating Frau Speer for not subscribing to the scurrilous weekly *Der Stuermer* (an unthinkable scene) and by making us feel that Speer, one of the most powerful men in the country, lived a threatened existence. Scowling SS-men follow him down to the very delivery room of the maternity hospital and Martin Bormann (a real Nazi, he) seems ready to send him off to Mauthausen every time he lays eyes on him.

The poignancy of Speer's fate is further shown by such scenes as that interrupted chamber music concert and various interrupted lunches and dinners. Working for the Fuehrer was as bad as commuting on the Long Island Railroad. And whenever Speer (played by the striking-looking Dutch actor Rutger Hauser) meets an unpleasant situation, such as the looting after the 1938 "Kristallnacht" pogrom (The TV Speer has no idea what it is all about), he looks stage left in a kind of Paul Newman wide-eyed *Exodus* stare, in confusion it would seem rather than either approval or anger.

Neuman tells us he spent "hundreds of hours" talking with Speer before doing his script. It is hard to imagine what they talked about, since not a breeze of insight stirs the clichés. Perhaps the series would have come across easier if it had been titled, "How I was Hitler's Slave Labor Minister but Saved my Marriage." Readers' Digest films might have picked up some of the tab. Why do our purveyors of mass entertainment grapple with history, if all they want from it is material for one more soap opera?

Hans Koning's latest novel is The Kleber Flight.

structuring of American society.

But despite his copyright on the words in the book, the ideas are not Lekachman's personal property. As he puts it himself, they are "generally accepted commonplaces of public policy...in Scandinavia, Austria, Great Britain, France, Germany, Yugoslavia and Canada." More specifically, they express the spirit and substance of the careful reforms being attempted, with special nuances in each country, by French president Mitterrand and Prime Minister Papandreaou (a Lekachman style economist) in Greece. Lekachman would function superbly as chairperson of a Council of Social and Economic Advisers under Mitterrand, Papandreaou or—if they should ever come to power—a Berlinguer in Italy or a Carrillo in Spain. He would do still better chairing the same agency or the Federal Reserve Board in the U.S. under a President John Conyers, Ron Dellums, William Winpisinger or anyone else brought to the White House by some future program of Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

Capitalism revived.

But let us be clear about the agenda. It is *not* socialism, but rather an updated and more sophisticated version of our old friend, "Saving American capitalism." While it may embody

socialist principles, it is similar to the efforts of European socialist and social democratic parties to humanize capitalism, thereby dulling the edge of exploitation while postponing full socialization of the major means of production and worker participation in basic decision-making. Older efforts along these lines were aptly analyzed in Michael Harrington's chapter on "socialist capitalism" in *Europe (Socialism, 1970)*. In third world countries, many leaders of "modernization" drives still follow Nehru's example of moving toward capitalist agriculture and industry under the banner of socialism. We may even go back to Lenin himself, who in the unique context of Russia in 1921 called for state capitalism to prepare for a transition to socialism.

Mitterrand's and Papandreaou's opponents, of course, do not hesitate to brand the Lekachman program for France and Greece as a transition to totalitarianism. This reminds me of the anguish of the big business dinosaurs who in 1936 attacked FDR's social security program as the road to godless communism. The fact that dinosaurs still roam the capitalist jungle demonstrates only the longevity of this species. It does not make them any more convincing when they use similar exaggerations in attacking the socialist or social



Jo (Wood Moy) plays private eye, hunting for his money and his friend.

Photographer unknown

INDEPENDENT FEATURES

The mystery of the missing identity

By Pat Aufderheide

Every more-than-casual filmgoer is used to giving "first features" special dispensation. You don't look forward to a seamless hypnotic experience that will whisk you away from it all. Instead you hunt for the signs of energy, intelligence and drive (matched by reasonable indications of technical competence) that suggest a new talent.

So it seems almost unfair that *Chan Is Missing* is a first feature. This modern mystery set in San Francisco's Chinatown is so intriguing and punchy that it doesn't need any favors. Nor does it call for the critical leniency that "This movie was made for \$20,000" could be expected to bring. (*Northern Lights* cost \$330,000; *Girlfriends* half a million; *The Return of the Secaucus Seven* \$67,000.)

Its unusual qualities haven't gone unnoticed. It was the hit of the Los Angeles Film Exposition (Filmex, see sidebar), and then swept audiences away at the New Directors series in New York. Suddenly the prestigious New Yorker Films picked up a black-and-white first feature by a Chinese-American film student and community organizer, and began working out a national distribution plan.

"I couldn't afford to pay the actors and other people who worked on the film," the sud-

denly successful director Wayne Wang told *In These Times*. He had financed the film with American Film Institute and National Endowment for the Arts grants. "But now, because they worked for a percentage of any profits, they all stand to make more than they would have otherwise."

Chan Is Missing is not just a good suspense film about a disappearance, and a rare success story among American independent features. It's also the first feature to make it nationally that gives an insider's perspective on Chinese-American life. And that has made a lot of people nervous, including Chinatown resi-

Racial stereotypes and gumshoe-movie cliches are played off against the realities of life in Chinatown.

dents. Some of them suspect Wang is "a communist"; and other accuse him of being a sell-out to mainstream values.

Wang denies both versions. But he knows why the film raises hackles on its home turf. "The

film was calculated to respond to stereotypes of the Chinese," he said. "You know them—passive, resourceful, hard-working, yellow peril, sly, sexless. Because the film shows the life of the community it becomes extremely

political, even for the Chinese."

Chan steers away from what Wang calls the "ugly" side of Chinese-American life—sensational headline-grabbers like the tong wars, for instance. But he can't have been much tempted to dwell on them in any case. His subject matter is the question of Chinese-American identity. Sensational events and stereotyped images are, for him, mere clues to deeper problems.

His vehicle for exploring the question of social identity is the problem that the Chinese-American hero and narrator, Jo, has. What has happened to his friend Chan Hung, recently arrived

Fest fosters the offbeat

The chance for *Chan Is Missing* to find a festival audience was no small part of its success story. As much as the New Directors series is on the east coast, Filmex is a solid launching platform for independent film work on the west coast.

The film festival began in 1971 in a virtual vacuum of film culture. At that time Los Angeles, a city where film means business, had almost no "art houses" and lacked a community of filmgoers interested in the experimental, the offbeat, the foreign or the just-plain-not-Saturday-night-

date-film fare. Founder-director Gary Essert made it a non-competitive festival for audiences—a smorgasbord of film offerings from production around the world in the previous year—more than a trade center for film buyers and sellers (like the Cannes and Berlin film festivals) or a preview of art films most likely to succeed on the national circuit (as some have characterized the sleek, highly selective New York film festival).

By this time, Filmex has established the nub of a filmgoing community in Los Angeles, and

it operates in an environment where a couple dozen theaters in the area show non-studio fare throughout the year. It has also carved out some special constituencies. It has become, among other things, a good place to see independent American filmmakers' work and for filmmakers to exchange information.

This March among the films shown were the political-subject documentaries *The Atomic Cafe* (*In These Times*, May 5); *Anarchism in America?* (see accompanying review); *American Pictures*, a four-and-a-half hour expose of poverty by a Danish visitor; and *Americas in Transition* (*In These Times*, March 31). The often-slighted social documentary genre was in evidence. *Family Business*, possibly the best of the *Middletown* series shown on PBS (*In These Times*, June 2) was shown on its own, and Les Blank's *Burden of Dreams*, about the making of Werner Herzog's *Fitzcarraldo* in the midst of indigenist and oil politics in the Peruvian jungle, made it to the screen in work-

print form. Such independent features as Paul Bartel's savage comedy *Eating Raoul* also showed, as well as several musical documentaries.

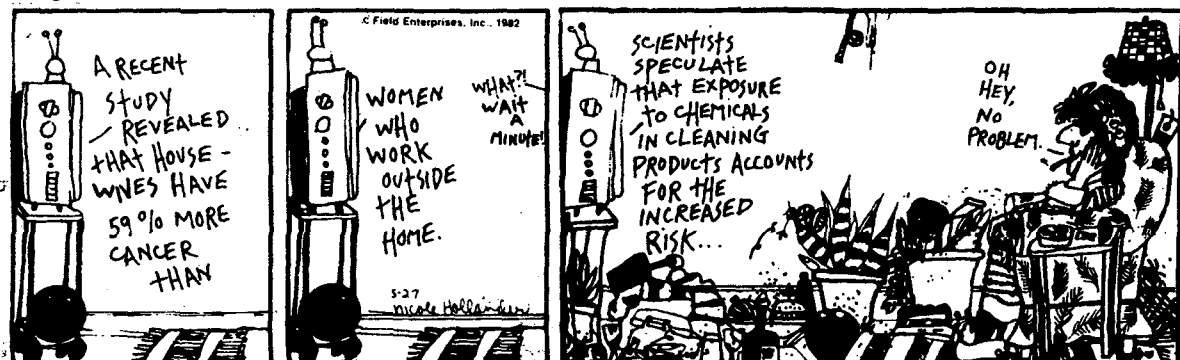
For filmmakers it was more than a chance to see movies. Filmex co-sponsored, with the Independent Feature Project, an all-day how-to seminar on independent film financing. And the festival was timed to occur with the American Film Market, a separate trade festival that some independents attended, happy to save the cost of a trip to Cannes or Berlin to hawk their product.

After film showings, audiences flocked to lively discussion sessions with filmmakers. These sessions highlighted how eager audiences are to see special interest films, and to see films that don't fit a lowest-common-denominator entertainment mold. In that light it is as chilling as the next dismal piece of financial news to hear that Filmex, like many other film festivals, is going through hard times financially. Talk of a closer cooperation with the San Francisco Film Festival—timing the two together, for instance, to share such expenses as travel costs for visiting filmmakers—offers some hope.

—P.A.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



from China? He has disappeared with a hefty cash payment that Jo and his nephew Steve gave him to make a payoff so they could start their own taxi business.

Jo worries about Chan, who has had a hard time adjusting to the U.S., and he thinks something bad has befallen Chan. But one of his friends, an energetic and cynical cook, doesn't worry. He thinks that Chan simply got so unhappy that he went back to China. Steve flatly says the man is untrustworthy and unbalanced.

Chan is a different man to each person they consult. To Chan's estranged wife he is a depressing little failure who couldn't grab the good life that she and her hard-rock playing kids lust after. To his sponsor he's a tradition-bound dimwit who wouldn't accept the businessman-sponsor's good advice. "You have to educate these guys!" the sponsor says, laughing ruefully after telling a patronizing anecdote about another recently-arrived immigrant. To the director of the center where Chinese immigrants learn English he's another chance to make the director's favorite argument: We must neither reject everything from the past nor clutch it tightly, but take the best from both worlds. If Chan could only have struck a happy mean, he could have been like the director's favorite prop, the "Chinese apple pie," which looks like the traditional dessert but tastes undisputably Chinese.

Steve and his girlfriend would like simply to dismiss Chan's problems. They make fun of Chinese-American contradictions, freely joking with slang like FOB ("fresh off the boat") and "neuter" (for those who haven't joined either mainland or Taiwan factions in Chinatown). Their apartment is filled with junk food and mass-produced Americana. Steve has heavily black-accented speech affectations he learned while in the Army in Vietnam, and he clearly thinks black bravado poses are cooler than anything Chinese.

But Jo knows there's a reality behind some gobbledegook that a lawyer-anthropologist lays on the two of them at the beginning of the film. There are cross-cultural issues in every aspect of Chinese life, and every interaction, from getting a traffic ticket to keeping a marriage together to making friends with a neighbor, involves both a Chinese way of life and language and that of the other—whether white, black or

Filipino.

Wang gets away with something extraordinary in this movie. He keeps suspense taut and his characters crisply alive without ever finally finding Chan. It turns out that the real problem of the film is not to find Chan but to pose correctly the problem of his disappearance. And that Wang solves admirably, such that he achieves a rare combination of intellectual and emotional catharsis. You come out amused, thoughtful, curious.

How did he do it? Wang, who spent years as a participant-observer in the Chinatown social work scene, trusts his material. He doesn't force his characters into a genre mold, in terms of plot or casting. What he does realize, though, is that in real life stereotypes act strongly on people's expectations. And he wittily shows the interplay of stereotype and the complexities of real life.

References to Charlie Chan movies pop up, as well as to grand old detective films and to TV's Jim Rockford, as Jo and Steve undertake their detective work. These are not just verbal and visual filmic references, but part of the characters' cultural baggage, like the cook's T-shirt that is emblazoned "Samurai Night Fever."

The film's opening shots succinctly illustrate Wang's approach. The taxi windshield is split by harsh sunlight, so we can only see the taxi driver's face with difficulty. (Much of the stylized lighting is apparently a result of technical difficulties, testimony to Wang's ingenuity.) On the soundtrack plays a Chinese version of "Rock Around the Clock." Jo's ride beats the three-second deadline that Jo mentally imposes on all white passengers to Chinatown, for asking the inevitable question: "Know any good restaurants in Chinatown?" he says.

Visually, Wang captures a verite look to the streets and homes of Chinatown. But the film is also filled with graphic references to movies, especially to the cheap drama of the thriller. Wang refers to the mannerisms of genre films just as he refers to ethnic stereotypes his characters internalize, and he can capture those mannerisms without being mannerist because he anchors them in a reality of human relationships. His peculiar combination of perception, wit and humility—no directorial self-importance leaks through here—gives the film authenticity without ever sinking into earnestness or the patronizing moralism Wang so deftly skewers his social work characters with.

And that's why the film's ending, a coda that becomes a self-conscious reference to the film-making process, may be unnecessary. The film uses stop-frame separation of sound from image and other devices to make a non-narrative commentary on the scenes and problems we have come to know.

"I wanted to make the audience more aware of the materiality of film," Wang said. "I was a little worried that the film would be seen as realistic. I mean, it's as real as anything there is about Chinatown, but it's still a film. And I wanted to leave people with that."

There you may have the evidence that this is a first feature. It's one of the rare examples of a typical young artist's problem—not knowing when they've already done what they came to do.

DOCUMENTARY

Apple pie and anarchism as a way of life

By Pat Aufderheide

Anarchism in America?, an 80-minute documentary, is enough to give anarchists a good name. If it doesn't do the same thing for anarchism as a political theory or strategy, that may be because the filmmakers, Joel Sucher and Steven Fischler (they made *Red Square* and *The Free Voice of Labor*) have done such a good job—not always in the way they meant to—of showing us what it is.

The question mark in the title is crucial. Along with the pink scrawl of the credits, it dispels at the outset one's fears of overearnest tract-filmmaking. This is a joyous, even a goofy movie, full of affection for its subjects.

The filmmakers have a personal claim on their material. Student rebels in the streets in the late '60s and Yuppies in the '70s, they have never abandoned their concern for humanist alternatives in politics. In 1980 they rented a van and toured North America looking for the meaning of American anarchism—an ideology that, despite a good century of vitality in this country, still has a sneaky-furrin-bomb-thrower image.

They found something perfectly American in their interviews with self-professed anarchists—anti-authoritarianism. An independent trucker just wants the government off his back. A self-important professional finds the American character more impulsively individualistic than the European, shown by the fact that he doesn't wait for street lights to change in Europe. A communal farmer describes anarchy as economic and political autonomy through subsistence farming. At an anarchists' convention (yes!) the filmmakers find their subjects so fiercely independent that it's hard to find people who will even describe themselves as anarchist.

Extremists on the right and the left share views. Karl Hess, an ex-speechwriter for Goldwater, celebrates Emma Goldman for having Ayn Rand's best ideas without the silliness. He, like a foreign hippie who lives in a home-made truck camper, believes "there's no government like no government."

Faith in the future.

The characters are fascinating for their idiosyncratic personalities and for their staunch principles at a time when an anxious pragmatism eats away at many people's days. The interviewers efficiently establish rapport with their subjects. But perhaps Sucher and Fischler were too much in sympathy with them to ask tough questions of strategy. And perhaps they were too much the believers to provide the historical context needed to make political sense of the anarchist tradition.

Take, for example, the immigrant anarchist tradition of co-ops and communes that we are shown with old stills and narration. Did such anarchists intend to transform burgeoning industrial America into a decentralized craft and farm idyll? How did they recruit people? The filmmakers provide a spotty survey of co-ops today, but the enterprises don't seem to have

Stubborn anti-authoritarian sentiment is a unifying theme among those interviewed.



Anarchist beliefs motivate some antinuclear protesters (above, scaling a nuclear power plant fence).

much to do with each other or with the immigrant anarchist tradition.

Keeping a close focus on lifestyle questions, the film virtually skips the history of anarchism in the labor movement. It also slights the Berkman and bombs in anarchism's political past.

The interview with Mollie Steiner shows the strengths and weaknesses of this approach. Steiner, an anarchist labor agitator and friend of Emma Goldman (who also appears in the film, in rare newsreel footage), was forcibly deported and now lives in Mexico. The adulatory

interview gives a vivid sense of her guts and her wit. But what was the meaning of her courageous acts? Did they affect the political process—or are we to measure the meaning of anarchy on apolitical grounds?

The philosophy sections of the film inadvertently go far toward answering such questions. In a lengthy interview author Murray Bookchin retells his discovery that socialist politics involve social hierarchy and the use of political power to enforce social distinctions. But having cited that tendency in political affairs, he presents no alternative solution. Apparently he trusts moral virtue to transcend and change the terms of political reality. You don't have to have the cynicism of a Stalinist to want something more concrete to combat powerlust and corruption.

But if political programs are lacking, inspiration isn't. Many of the anarchists interviewed express their belief—essentially a religious one—not only verbally but in their exemplary lives. One old organizer is asked if he isn't depressed at how little institutional result came of his work. He explains calmly that the idea lives on differently in different generations. So the film becomes a document, not of political history but of American cultural expression. Anarchist notions can surface in a "New Federalism" so decentralist it's downright feudal or at the top of a nuclear power plant fence that a Clamshell is climbing.



Jo searches San Francisco's waterfront.

Iran

Continued from page 11

The war has cost Iran tens of thousands dead and 1.5 million refugees from the war zone as well as the destruction of several major urban centers and great economic losses. Bitterness must be great against the Iraqis, who are seen as having launched an attack on Iran without reason. The very cost of the war may therefore make it more difficult for the Iranians to negotiate a compromise with Baghdad. And the war serves other purposes for the Tehran government. It provides an excuse for the continuing difficulties of the post-revolutionary period, accompanied now by growing shortages of consumer goods in the cities. And it provides a rallying point against the opposition of the guerrillas fighting Khomeini—the Mojahedin of the People and other smaller left groups that have continued to operate, despite vigorous suppression. Above all, the war keeps the armed forces occupied. No one knows what the political ability and wishes of the armed forces are, and it is probable that no army commander would dare make a move as long as Khomeini is alive. But a new force is now present in Iranian politics

and the mullahs may find it hard to control in the long run.

Many outside parties are trying to limit the effects of the war and to prevent a complete Iraqi collapse. But the oil-producing states of the Arabian Peninsula can only send money and some arms, since they have virtually no armed forces, and can only watch helplessly as the Iraqis retreat. Jordan and Egypt do have battle-experienced forces, but they are unlikely to make significant military commitments to a desperate situation far from their own frontiers. The Egyptians will benefit from a humiliation of Iraq that will hasten their readmission to the Arab fold. Baghdad, for all its appeals, will remain alone to face the blast of the Iranian whirlwind it has unleashed. The U.S. is much more concerned than it has publicly admitted by the turn of events, but it can do little except give general reassurances to its allies in the Peninsula. There is little likelihood of American diplomacy being able to influence Khomeini.

The Soviet Union has supplied arms to both Iran and Iraq and has tried in recent weeks to urge restraint upon the Iranians. But relations between Moscow and Tehran have deteriorated somewhat, as a result of renewed Iranian criticism of the Soviet role in Afghanistan and the rise within the Iranian state of new militantly anti-communist Islamic groups. Above all, the Soviets fear that sustained conflict

between these two states will only lead the rest of the Arab world to rely more heavily on the U.S. and may bring the day of direct American intervention in the region all the nearer.

If past performance is anything to go by, the Iranian authorities, who have taken once again to denouncing "the imperialism of East and West," are unlikely to heed this advice from their neighbor to the north.

Fred Halliday, a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, writes regularly on the Middle East for In These Times, The Nation and other periodicals.

Poland

Continued from page 11

concrete proposals, it focuses on international politics.

People here are interpreting the report as a watershed in the development of the liberal communists and humanist socialists who constitute DIP. When a group that has until recently been represented in the political elite (DIP member Jan Malanowski was a Central Committee member until his expulsion soon after martial law) argues that reform is no longer an internal issue, hope indeed seems dim.

The Polish press has been reporting hundreds of additional arrests and, of course, summary convictions for participation in recent protests. But it has yet to report several deaths that resulted from the astonishing police brutality of the last month. Those people recently interned have not caused as much chaos in the prisons as might be expected since many thousands of pre-martial law prisoners were moved to prisons in neighboring countries, especially Czechoslovakia, to make room for the new arrivals. In any case, information concerning total numbers of new arrestees, precise whereabouts and prison conditions has been extremely difficult to come by.

The current, post "May Days" mood is marked by a certain amount of patience, though with a lack of good will. People are waiting, yet they no longer know what for. A few months ago they were waiting for the Spring, which "will be ours." "Spring" came in early May. And it was indeed theirs. But rallies, leaflets, sticks and stones did not force the state to retreat. The question remains: What will?

Neither the government nor the underground opposition offers concrete hope. For now, Poles are looking forward to something to look forward to.

David Ost is In These Times' Poland correspondent.

Booth

Continued from page 13

ed. "Anyone who gets into office has to sell his soul so many ways there is no way to hold them accountable."

Some of the community organizers charge that Booth is trying to divert them from their non-partisan, issue-oriented mandate. Rich Dieter, the director of Chicago's Organization for the Northeast, was angered by Booth's description of her strategy in a May-June 1981 *Working Papers* article. "I feel community organizations should be allowed to do what they are doing," Dieter said. "Every time we turn around we shouldn't be hit by some person trying to homogenize us and turn us into something else."

Booth's new direction has even caused dissent within the Citizen Action affiliates—not within the leadership, but within the base of the membership organizations. In Massachusetts Fair Share, whose original constitution prohibited formal campaign involvement, a proposal to begin backing candidates has caused widespread debate.

But probably the most serious opposition to Booth's proposal has come from the Cold War liberal leadership of the AFL-CIO, which includes President Lane Kirkland, his chief assistant Tom Kahn and former Committee on Political Education (COPE) director Alexander Barkan. Kirkland, Kahn and Barkan represent that part of the labor movement that bitterly opposed George McGovern's bid for the presidency in 1972.

The AFL-CIO leadership views Booth, Lee Webb and others associated with the new project through the prism of these past battles—associating them with the "radical" '60s and with McGovernism. Therefore, they have tried to prevent national unions from signing up with the State and Local Leadership Project.

According to several union insiders, the campaign against Booth has even taken the form of accusing her of being a communist. "The AFL-CIO is fighting the war in Vietnam all over again," one union official said last March. "They are using McCarthyite tactics against Booth. I'm someone who doesn't mind calling a communist a communist but Heather Booth is not a communist. She is genuinely concerned with the issues that should really matter to the AFL-CIO. But the AFL-CIO is much more concerned with how many people it can get murdered in El Salvador."

On a national level, the AFL-CIO has succeeded in scaring off official union sponsorship. The Project's list of national sponsors includes only one international president, Winpisinger of the Machinists. But on a local level, the Project and the groups it is working with enjoy considerable support from such unions as the United Auto Workers, the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of State, Municipal and County Employees.

Booth believes that the Project can survive obstacles in Washington if it begins to show results in Hartford and Toledo. She is convinced that to develop a credible alternative to the Reagan Republicans and the Carter Democrats, the left must build up its own network of citizen action organizations, labor-community group

coalitions and campaign organizations. Otherwise, politics will continue within the past cycles of recession and inflation, Carter and Reagan.

"It's clear that Reagan is not going to deliver on his promises," Booth said. "But the question is whether people will be offered credible alternatives. If the

alternatives proposed are not capable of solving deep systemic problems, the politicians who offer them will be discredited, too. I am worried that in the next years we will simply see shifts back and forth from right to center and then from center to right. That's why we have to get busy."

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

CHICAGO, IL

June 17

Harry Britt, S.F. Supervisor, will speak on Urban Politics in the 1980s at the Good Shepherd Parish, 615 Wellington, at 7 p.m. A reception will follow at 9 p.m. Co-sponsored by the Democratic Socialists of America and the Illinois Gay and Lesbian Taskforce. For more info call (312) 871-7700 or (312) 975-0707.

NORTHAMPTON, MA

June 21-July 2

"Reconstructing a Left Public Sphere: Culture and Politics." Conference with Stanley Aronowitz, Carl Boggs, Jean Franco, Fred Jameson, Joan Landes, Manning Marable, Steve Resnick, Maria Shevtsova, Mick Taussig, Cornel West, Rick Wolff, etc. Sponsors: *Social Text*, New Political Science Caucus, Marxist Literary Group. Sessions/lodging, Smith College campus, Northampton, MA. Register/information c/o Doris Sommer, Amherst College, Amherst 01002, (413) 542-2396.

ITHACA, NY

June 25-27

Northeast Planners' Network Conference at Cornell University. Panels and workshops on

Enterprise Zones, Community Development, housing and tenants movements, full employment planning, health planning and rural planning. Prospective speakers include Bert Gross, Chester Hartman, Derek Shearer and Bernie Sanders. Registration: \$17.50. For details contact Paula Ford, 307 Hudson Ave., Albany, NY 12210.

BERKSHIRES, NY

July 9-18

The Berkshire Forum presents a ten-day vacation seminar: "Making American Culture Work for Us," with Liz Mestres, Nora Sayre, Eric Perkins—one of a series of vacation workshops in a delightful mountain setting. Modern lodge. Tennis. Spring-fed swimming pond. Write, call Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

EVANSTON, IL

June 20

Greenpeace hosts Endangered Species Day. A Bring Your Own Basket (BYOB) Picnic/Forum in the Park. Hear Representative Ellis Levin, Greenpeace, Sierra Club, Mother Earth News, Save the Eagles on conservation, the Endangered Species Act, prospects for continued life on this planet. Games, Auction, Music by Alvin Orzechowski and Marita. Lovelace Park, Gross Point and Thayer Rds., at 12:00 Noon. (312) 528-3050.

NEW YORK, NY

June 27

El Salvador benefit concert with Roy Brown, Suni Paz, New Song Quintet, New York Street Theatre Caravan. At Symphony Space, Broadway at 95th St., 8 p.m. Tickets \$7.50 in advance, \$10.00 at the door, available box office or CISPES. Call (212) 242-1040 for information.

BUILD A MOVEMENT AGAINST THE KLAN AND WHITE SUPREMACY

SUPPORT THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Come to a National Conference of the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee Chicago July 2-4

Speakers • Cultural Event • Workshops

Topics Include: The Fight Against the Klan; Women and the Fight Against White Supremacy; Solidarity with National Liberation Struggles; Killer Cops; Government Repression....

REGISTER NOW

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____
ORGANIZATION _____ SCHOOL _____ OTHER _____
Enclosed is \$15.00 registration fee (\$20.00 at the door)
I will need housing _____ I will need childcare _____
Enclosed is a contribution for the conference.

For More Information: JBAKC, Box 7239, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 935-5252



DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Association for Workplace Democracy
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party-National Office
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003
3244 N. Clark Street
Chicago, IL 60657

29 29th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

New Patriot Alliance/DSOL
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Soviets

Continued from page 16

ifestation of these attitudes, is the recent failed attempt by some young Russians to stage a rally marking Hitler's birthday in Moscow. According to one Western news report, citing Soviet sources, this bizarre event resulted from a "general sense of frustration with the absence of iron lead-

ership in the Soviet Union, with the loss of incentive to work and with the general sense of stagnation."

Solzhenitsyn and his followers assert decades of socialism are responsible for corruption and lassitude in the contemporary USSR, for what they see as a spiritual vacuum. Solzhenitsyn's neo-slavophil dissidence has at present a greater power to stir Russian souls than the dissident liberalism of a Sakharov or the dissident Marxism of a Medvedev. Ultimately, however, isn't the cure for Soviet so-

cialism more, not less, socialism? This is well understood in Eastern Europe, by sections of the ruling strata, among others. Perhaps a new, post-Brezhnev leadership in the USSR will recognize it as well. If the past is any guide, the most important catalyst for change in Soviet society will be initiative from the top. When it happens—it won't be next week—the courageous dissidents will be hailed as prophets before their time.

Three recently published books are invaluable introductions to Soviet dissi-

dence and samizdat: *An End to Silence: Uncensored Opinion in the Soviet Union from Roy Medvedev's Underground Magazine Political Diary*, Ed. Stephen F. Cohen, Trans. George Saunders, W.W. Norton & Co., 375 pp., \$19.95; Joshua Rubenstein, *Soviet Dissidents: Their Struggle for Human Rights*, Beacon Press, 304 pp., \$6.95, paper; Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, *The Time of Stalin: Portrait of a Tyranny*, Harper & Row, 374 pp., \$19.95.

Louis Menashe is a Russian historian.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

OFF OUR BACKS—Radical Feminist newspaper. National/international news, analysis, reviews, health, prisons; \$8 per year, 11 issues. Free sample copy. Off our backs, Dept. TT, 1841 Columbia Rd., Room 212, Washington, DC 20009.

JUNE, JEWISH CURRENTS, Jeffrey Dekro, "A Jewish Critique of Nuclear Energy."—Editorial, "Nuclear Freeze Now!"—Alex Roson, "'Ethno-Therapy' and Jewish Self-Esteem." Single copy \$1.50. Subscription \$10 USA, Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., NYC 10003.

EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP: A Handbook—Description of how plans work, where to get information, legislative possibilities, etc. \$8.25. National Center for Employee Ownership, 1611 S. Walter Reed Drive, #109, Arlington, VA 22204.

HELP WANTED

BATTERED WOMEN'S Project seeks experienced ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR/FUNDRAISER. Box 327, Ansonia, CT 06401.

REGIONAL FIELD COORDINATOR—National Abortion Rights Action League. Assist NARAL affiliates by phone, site visits, trainings, evaluations, crisis intervention. One year or more organizing, supervisory and electoral experience. Willing to travel; work long hours. \$16,000-\$20,000. Resumes to Nancy Levin, NARAL, 14 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108. (617) 720-1880.

IN THESE TIMES needs a full-time circulation assistant starting in August. No experience is needed, we will train

CHINESE PEOPLES lined all cotton cap from China. Durable, practical, comfortable. Navy, tan, grey or white. Sizes: S-M-L-XL. Send \$3.00 p.p.d. or 2 for \$9.00 p.p.d. to: **CAP Newport Cap Co.** P.O. Box 1226-T Newport, Oregon 97365

organize! gray with blue logo sweatshirt \$12.50 t-shirt \$7.00 posters \$3.00 sm., med., lg., x-lg. C.S.P. Box 48 Poplar Ridge, NY 13139 bulk rates available

Jesus Fictional!

Positive proof Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Scholarly booklet, \$3—Vector, Box 6215-F, Bellevue, WA 98007.

CUSTOM-PRINTED

Bumper Stickers

AT LOWEST MOVEMENT PRICES - SINCE 1961!

We also carry anti-draft, anti-nuclear, pro-disarmament, and other items in-stock for immediate shipment.

Groups and individuals use these items for fund-raising and consciousness-raising activities. All items are union-made. Write or call for our **FREE CATALOG**.

Larry Fox
Box M-9
Valley Stream, NY 11582
(516) 791-7929

—must be detail oriented. Contact Arlene, (312) 489-4444. Equal Opportunity Employer.

BUSINESS MANAGER for Quaker-based not-for-profit. Knowledge of computers, accounting; experience working independently in responsible position. Applicants encouraged regardless of sex, race, or religious or sexual orientation. Resumes to Bob Siedle, American Friends Service Committee, 407 S. Dearborn, Suite 370, Chicago, IL 60605.

EDITOR—National antinuclear, safe energy organization seeks assistant or co-editor for monthly newspaper, other publications. Research, writing, production skills, knowledge of energy issues. Health plan, vacation, salary \$9-10,000/yr. Resume, writing sample, references to: Director, Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy Project, 215 Penn. Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

OUTREACH COORDINATOR, NIRS Radioactive Waste Campaign. Antinuclear expertise, good writing skills, ability to coordinate local groups. Start ASAP. Send resume, writing sample, references to NIRS, 1536 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

PROGRAM DIRECTOR—Peace Studies Program, University of Missouri, Columbia. Teaching, advising, administration, fundraising, community education, activism. Modest salary but challenging opportunity in dynamic program. BA degree minimum. Send letter, resume and references to: Esther Thelen, Peace Studies, 22 Middlebush, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211. Women and minority applications especially welcome.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUTTONS & BUMPERSTICKERS in-stock & custom-printed (union made). Free stock catalogue, whole-

NORTHERN LIGHTS THE WAR AT HOME

We are currently offering **Northern Lights** and **The War at Home** at a 10% discount. Excellent for organizing, classrooms, fundraisers, workshops, rallies, etc. Cassette or 16 mm. Rent or purchase. Also distributing: **The Fear that Blinds Us: Violence Against Women and The Case of the Legless Veteran**. New Front Films, 1409 Willow Street Minneapolis, MN 55403 (612) 872-0805

sale custom printing prices. Donnelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976, (201) 538-6676.

"PRESIDENT RONALD HOOVER—I'm from South Succotash" bumper-sticker. \$1 AFL-CIO, P.O. Box 3248, Bloomington, IL 61701.

"ASNER—AN ACTOR Who Makes Sense!", "Solidarity" (Polish or English), "Beware the Actor" (Reagan graphic), "Freeze Nuclear Weapons", "U.S. Out of El Salvador", "Let Them Eat Jellybeans", "Money for Jobs Not for War", "Politically Correct", "Question Authority", "I'm Pro-Choice and I Vote", "Take the Toys Away from the Boys—Disarm." Buttons: 2/\$1.00; 10/\$4.00; 50/\$15; 100/\$25. Ellen Ingber, Box 752-T, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

BEAUTIFUL T-SHIRTS: "Vencemos! Self-determination in El Salvador." S,M,L,XL, Light blue or tan, 100% cotton. \$7.00 prepaid. Order: CLASC, Box 3102, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

JEEPS, CARS, PICKUPS from \$35. Available at local gov't auctions. For Directory call (805) 687-6000, Ext. 2440. Call refundable.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let In These Times be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

New Location

GUILD BOOKS

2456 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 525-3667

New store hours: noon-10:30 p.m., seven days a week

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women & Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals & Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

Mini-Lighter KEYCHAIN
Fully functional lighter is probably the smallest you'll find. Sure light every time without the bulk of a conventional lighter. 1" high. Case comes in assorted colors. Fine value! \$2 p.p.d. **BANTA, DEPT. CG** BOX 735 • CHICAGO IL 60680

CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS

"Virtuoso performance on the Compugraphic"

Concert Typographers, an outgrowth of the production department of In These Times, offers quality typesetting, with a quick turnaround time, at low prices. Whatever your needs are—from business cards to book manuscripts—we'll guarantee our work to your satisfaction. All proceeds will go to the continued growth and development of In These Times.

For estimates, references and scheduling, contact: Bill Rehm or Jim Rinnert, Concert Typographers, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622. (312) 489-4444.

JERSEY REBEL Workers: IWW organizing now. One Big Union of the working class! Write IWW, P.O. Box 572, Clifton, NJ 07015.

POSITION WANTED

PROGRESSIVE ADMINISTRATOR—Experienced health services manager seeks administrative role in community organization. Contact: Perry Cottrell, 2100 Washington Ave., 10-C, Silver Spring, MD 20910, (301) 589-5785.

EDUCATION

CRITICAL STUDIES at a State University? An opportunity to build a self-designed degree program at the B.A. or M.A. level. Courses, field work and other learning resources are available in a variety of areas including: Marxism; Radical Social and Political Theory; Socialist-Feminism; Labor and Left History; Community Organizing; Experimental Education; Radical Therapy; and International Studies. For more information, contact Professor Ralph Stone, Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708, or call (217) 786-6778 (toll-free within Illinois: 800-252-8533).

A GRADUATE PROGRAM in Psychology with special emphasis on race, class and sex, training Public Interest Psychotherapists, with an accredited M.A. in Psychology. Solid grounding in Marx, Freud, psychoanalytic and family therapy approaches, plus placements in labor unions. More info: New College of California, 777 Valencia St., SF, CA 94110.

MUSIC

1,000,000+ beautiful film music recordings! Catalog—\$1.00. Soundtrack Valueguide—\$5.50. RTSIT, Box 687, Costamesa, CA 92627.

HOUSING

SOCIALIST TEACHER (male, 31, straight) has house to share, far western Chicago suburb, \$175 month. P.O. Box 211, Winfield, IL 60190.

REAL ESTATE

IF YOU ARE planning to buy or sell real estate in the Ann Arbor area, please contact Rose Hochman, c/o Garnet Johnson Associates, 325 E. Summit, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (313) 662-3282 or (313) 769-3099.

THE UNITED STATES AND EL SALVADOR: POLITICAL AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT

BY A. HADAR

"An excellent and well-documented book."
— Rev. Philip Wheaton
Director, EPICA

\$4.50 plus \$.50 postage

"An invaluable tool for all who are working to change a disastrous policy."
— Paul Sweezy



U.S.-EL SALVADOR RESEARCH & INFORMATION CENTER
P.O. BOX 4797 • BERKELEY, CA 94704

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

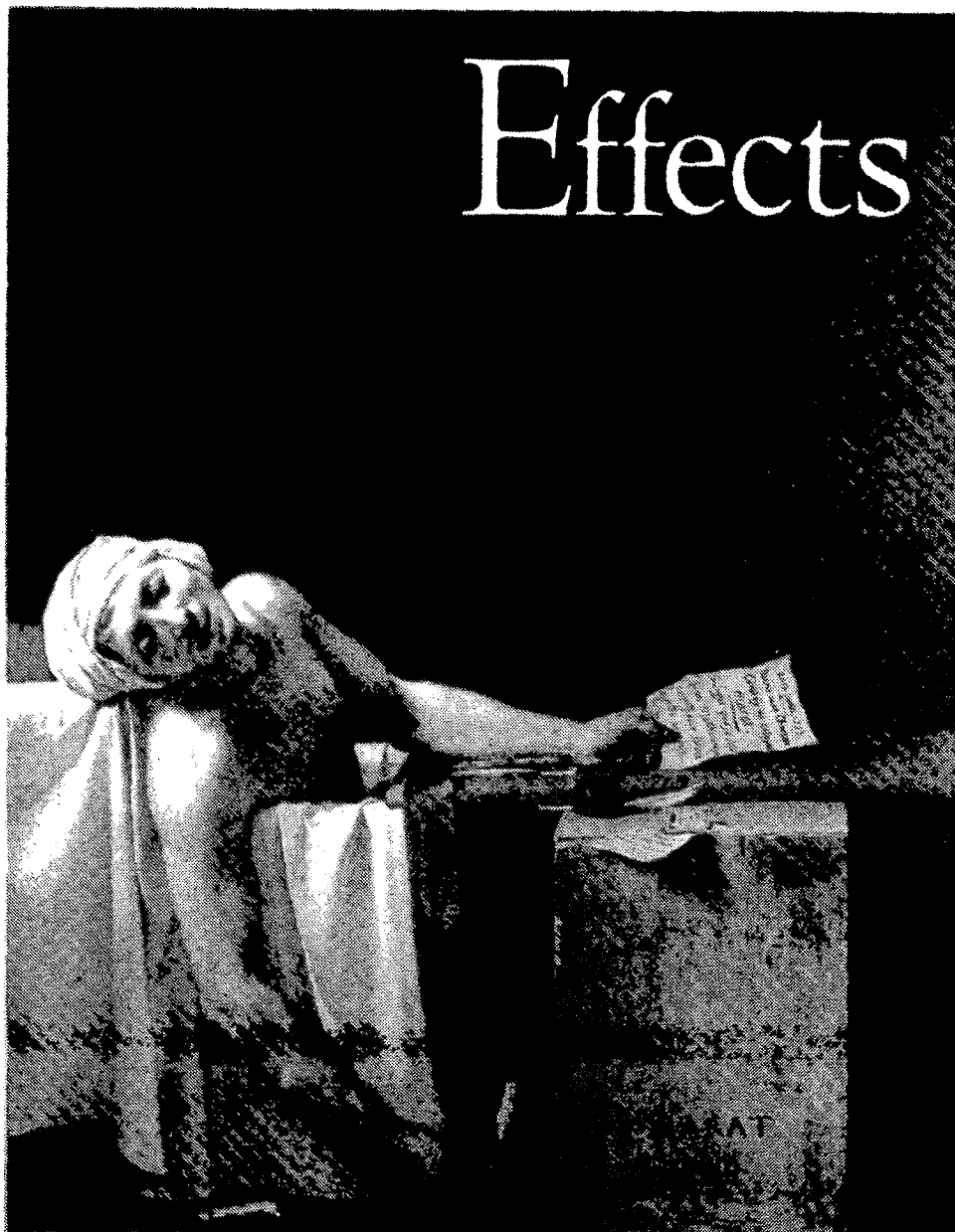
All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312) 489-4444



By Stephen Fife

Dramatic Effects



For playwright Peter Weiss the theater was an arena of political debate.

WHEN PETER WEISS DIED of a heart attack early in May his *New York Times* obituary mentioned he had been in the midst of mounting a production of his new play, *The Process*, based on Kafka's *The Trial*. This sounded like a departure for Weiss, whose plays since *Marat/Sade* and *The Investigation* in the mid-'60s had been overtly political in their concerns, often making use of Brechtian stage techniques for instructing the audience. Yet there was something appropriate in his returning to Kafka, his original influence, for inspiration.

Weiss' artistic journey began when he was 17 in 1934, when his family was kicked out of Germany because of his father's Jewish background. With one swift blow, this intelligent boy with a solid middle-class upbringing was cut off from friends and school acquaintances, deprived of his nationality and made aware of his ambiguous religious identity (his father was a Christian convert, his mother was Lutheran, and yet he was persecuted for being Jewish). He was also given a firsthand taste of the cruelty of the Nazi regime and the horrors of the Holocaust. The question of what kind of society could have given birth to such a movement preoccupied Weiss for the rest of his life.

A few years later, when he was living in Stockholm, Weiss embarked on a series of artistic experiments—painting, writing novels, making films, trying to construct an artistic identity. His work of this period was marked by an almost exclusive concentration on self. One critic said his films displayed "a pervasive predilection for solemn and tormenting themes of personal alienation," while a book reviewer for the *Times* described Weiss' autobiographical novel, *Exile*, as detailing "the loneliness of a man searching for creative autonomy, a self that can stand apart from all social artifacts and political allegiances." Kafka's influence on Weiss was especially great at this time, as Weiss built up a small but devoted following. Not until the '60s, however, when Weiss suddenly turned to writing plays, did he find his true voice.

Marat/Sade (1963), Weiss' second play, not only brought him worldwide attention in the production by Peter Brook, but it also represented a huge advance in his art. He was able to create a metaphorical world that encompassed his gathering political consciousness as well as his emphasis on the autonomous self. The play, whose full title is *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat As Performed By the Inmates of the Asylum*

The strength of MARAT/SADE was the ideological debate between the socialist revolutionary Marat and Sade, the anarchic individualist.

of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade, has the forcefulness of a vision as it plays out the ritualized knifing of Marat, the French revolutionary leader, by Charlotte Corday, his disillusioned disciple, under the watchful guidance of the imprisoned Marquis.

The strength of the piece lies in the dynamic established between Marat and Sade as they continually argue about the human condition. Marat, who killed thousands in his pursuit of a revolutionary goal, is convinced of the value of a socialist collective at any cost, while Sade, the anarchic individualist, has only contempt for human beings and their existential position. "Nature herself would watch unmoved if we destroyed the entire human race," he sneers. Weiss was making a reference to the Holocaust, a subject he confronted in his next play, *The Investigation* (1965).

Many critics otherwise dazzled by *Marat/Sade* complained that they could not tell whose side Peter Weiss was on in the Marat-Sade discussion. Weiss could only reply, "My solutions very often are not clear because the world I live in is not clear." Shortly thereafter, however, Weiss went through a period of personal crisis, during which he felt the need to take a political stand. He resolved this anguish and doubt by publishing his *Ten Theses*, in which he wrote, "As between the two possibilities of choice which today remain to me, I see only in the socialist order of society the possibility of removing the existent inequities in the world." In a speech a few months later at a conference on "The Artist in the Af-

fluent Society," held at Princeton University, he said, "It is not enough to establish empathy with the suppressed and exploited. I also have to stand up for them in my writing."

Weiss had already come out with *The Investigation*, a documentary depiction of the 1964-1965 Auschwitz War Trials, drawn directly from testimony. *The Investigation* makes no attempt to explain the barbarity of concentration camps or to elicit sympathy for the survivors. Rather, it details the process of depersonalization that made mass murder not only possible, but also logical, a by-product of the capitalist mentality. It shows how mass slavery was in the best interests of the free enterprise system and how German businesses prospered because of the war. And it lays the groundwork for Weiss' condemnation of Western society as being inherently duplicitous and sadistic, a Sadean deathworld to which Weiss responded by playing the part of Marat, advocating a "socialist/collective" rebellion at any cost.

This is the case in Weiss' next two plays, *The Song of the Lusitania Bogey* (1967) and *Discourse on Vietnam* (1968). *Bogey* attacks European (specifically Portuguese) colonial involvement in Africa, while *Discourse* is an epic representation of 2,000 years of Vietnamese history, culminating in American imperialist activities there and Lyndon Johnson's decision to bomb Saigon.

Weiss made no attempt in either play to hide his sympathies, using every Brechtian technique he could get his hands on, from showing slides of actual bombing raids to having actors change parts between victim and victimizers, to confront his audience with the authoritarian thought process that could justify these exploitations and make them profitable.

"Just as a destructive society shaped

the German concentration camps, so the philosophy of destruction has led to the American aggression in Asia," Weiss remarked in an interview.

What saves these plays from being something more than the guilt-pangs of a liberal Westerner—and more than effective agitprop—is the energy and eloquence of Weiss' rage at injustice, the radicalness of his polemic and the degree to which he identifies with the oppressed. Yet it was one thing for Western audiences to accept his indictment of the Third Reich and quite another for them to sit through four hours of anti-American diatribe.

The reaction of most Western critics was unremittingly hostile, blasting Weiss for having given himself over to shameless polemicism and thereby forsaking the theater. Communist governments, on the other hand, applauded his efforts, and Weiss was hailed in East Germany as a hero for his anti-imperialist views. This affiliation didn't last long, however. In 1970 Weiss produced his new play, *Trotsky in Exile*, which apotheosized Trotsky at Lenin's expense, vilifying the Communist bureaucracy for betraying Trotsky's revolutionary vision of an uprising by the masses.

"True Marxism is always humanism, and as a Marxist I would never agree to suppression of expression wherever it came from," Weiss declared, decrying the censorship he found rampant in Communist countries.

In the end, Weiss returned to Stockholm, a Westerner in exile from Western ideology, a "citizen of the world" with no country.

©Stephen Fife 1982

Stephen Fife is a New York writer on cultural issues whose work has appeared in *The Village Voice*, *The Soho News* and other publications.